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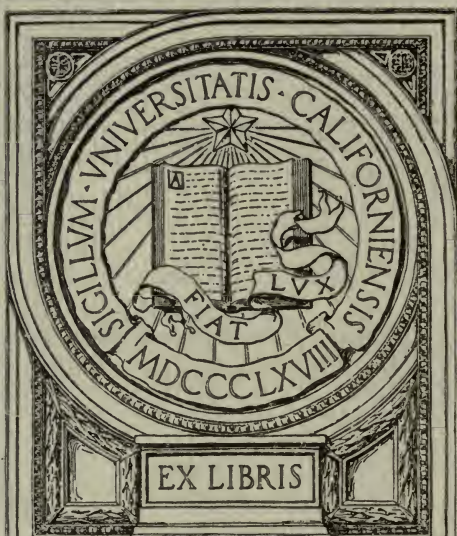
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THE KINGS OF LYDIA

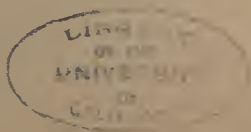
AND A

REARRANGEMENT OF SOME FRAGMENTS
FROM NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By
LEIGH ALEXANDER



1913

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June, 1911

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PREFACE

The present work was undertaken shortly after the excavation of Sardes, under the direction of Professor H. C. Butler, was begun. It was at first my intention to write concerning the history of that city in the Greek or the Roman period; and some time in the future that purpose may perhaps be carried out. On examination, however, it seemed that there was in our traditional sources concerning "the kings of Lydia" enough material for further discussion of that subject.

The present study has been carried on under the direction of Professor William K. Prentice, and I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to him for his constant assistance and advice, and for his unsparing criticisms. My debt to him is especially great in Chapter III. My most hearty thanks are also due to Professor Edward Capps, for his unfailing encouragement, and for his stimulating suggestions.

LEIGH ALEXANDER

Oberlin, Ohio.

January, 1914.



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INTRODUCTION

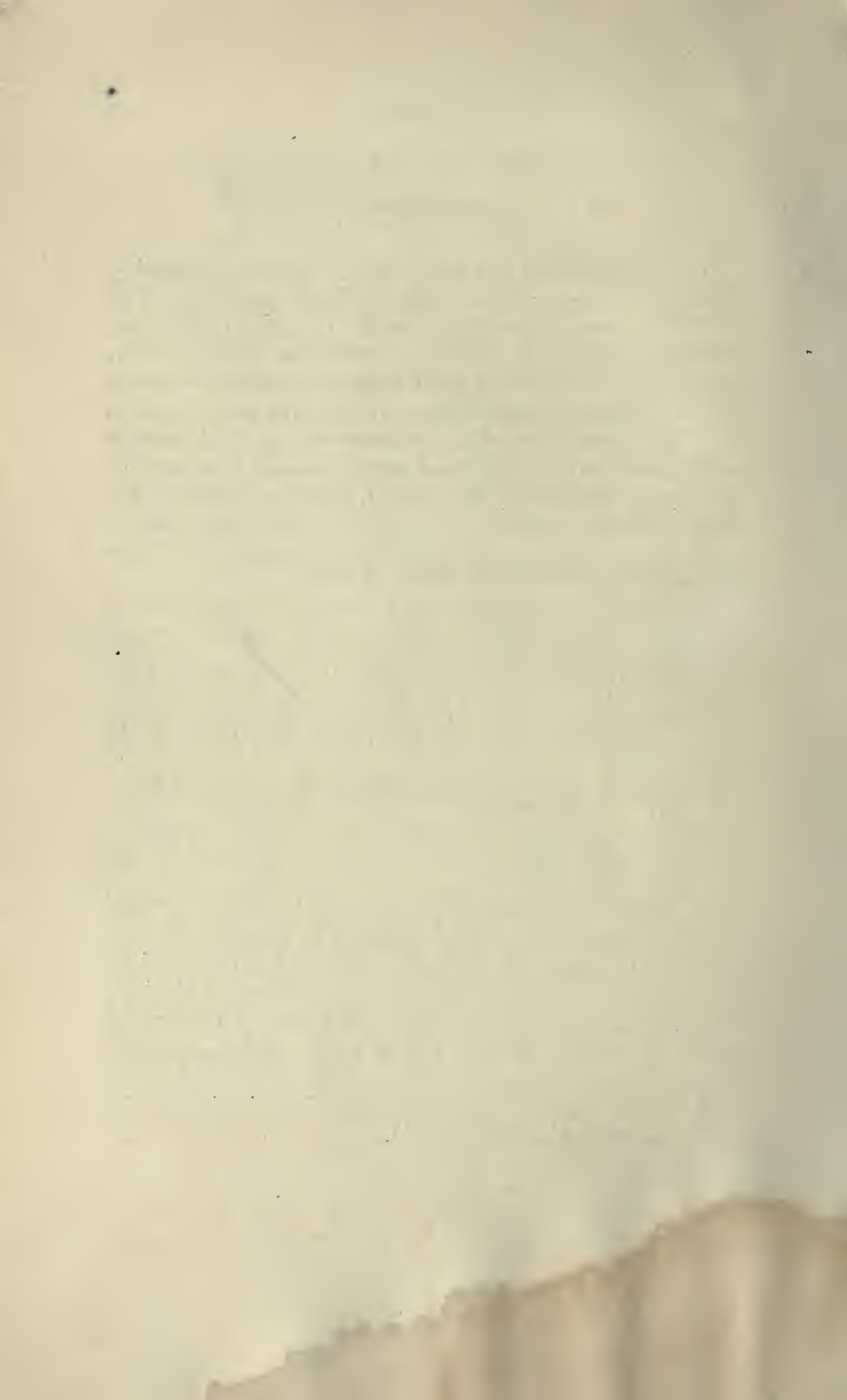
I. The traditional sources for the history of the Lydian kings are familiar. They consist chiefly of the first book of Herodotus, the fragments of Xanthus' *Lydiaca*, the fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus concerning Lydian history, together with the lists of Lydian kings contained in the works of the Christian chronographers, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Hieronymus, etc. The other traditional sources which mention Lydian kings are, for the most part, incidental references of no value in the present study, which is concerned almost entirely with the "Herakleid" and "Mermnad" dynasties of Lydian kings and does not undertake a consideration of the earliest kings and mythical heroes of Lydia.

II. Besides passages in works of larger scope, such as histories, commentaries on ancient authors, etc., there have been within the past century, among other monographs bearing more or less directly on the history of the kings of Lydia, two dissertations which are of special importance in the present work:

R. Schubert, *Geschichte der Könige von Lydien*, Breslau, 1884.

G. Radet, *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades*, Paris, 1893.

After careful examination and comparison with the original ancient sources, it has seemed necessary in a number of cases to differ very materially from the works just mentioned, both as to method of treatment and also as to conclusions obtained. It is necessary, therefore, to revert once more to the original sources and subject them to a fresh study. Before, however, a comprehensive treatment of the sources is undertaken, the path may be cleared by two preliminary investigations, which will be found in chapters I and II.



CHAPTER I

THE RELATION TO ONE ANOTHER OF SOME FRAGMENTS CONCERNING LYDIA FROM NICOLAUS' UNIVERSAL HISTORY¹

It is well known that many of the extant fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus come to us through two of the collections of excerpts prepared for the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (912-956 A.D.). These are the *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, and the *Excerpta de Insidiis*. In both of these collections there were excerpts from other works by Nicolaus, doubtless made by the same excerptor or group of excerptors; but our present investigation is concerned only with the excerpts from his *Universal History*, of which Lydian history formed a part.

I. The *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*.

By running over the pages of this work,² we can soon see clearly that the chief excerptor's general plan and method was to go through the works of various writers, e.g., Josephus, Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Appian, etc., and among them Nicolaus of Damascus, and gather together anecdotes and accounts illustrative of the main theme, virtues and vices. It would be natural, one would think, to begin at the beginning of each source book, and go straight through, noting down the 'virtues' and 'vices'; and this method is followed in the excerpts from Josephus and Diodorus,³ apparently without any mistakes or variations from the true order in the original works of these authors. Now, in determining whether this same 'straightforward' system of arrangement is followed also in the excerpts from Nicolaus, the accompanying tables will be of assistance. The first is a complete list according to Müller (FHG. III) of all the fragments from Nicolaus' *Universal History*, books I-VII, includ-

¹ *Ἱστορία καθολική*. Cf. Suidas s. v. Νικόλαος Δαμασκηνός.

² *Excerpta Historica iussu Imp. Constant. Porphyrogen. confecta*; ed. Büttner-Wobst (1906), vol. II, pars I, passim; also the *Ἐκδόσεις* of the same work, pp. 1-3. See also the edition of the *Excerpta* by H. Valesius (Henri de Valois), Paris, 1634.

³ See the conspectus on pp. 362 ff. of the volume and edition of the *Excerpta* cited. Compare also the numbering of the sections in the text, throughout the edition.

ing not only the fragments preserved in the two series of Excerpta mentioned above, but also those that have come down to us through other writers. The second table shows, in a double or parallel outline, the fragments contained in the two series of Excerpta only.

Table I. *Tabular list of fragments from Nicolaus' Universal History, books I-VII.*

The numbering of fragments and their arrangement in 'books' follow Müller, in FHG. III, 345 ff., 356 ff. A double asterisk (* *) indicates that the fragments so marked are definitely assigned, by their own wording, to their respective 'books' in Nicolaus' work. The section numbers in the Exc. de Virt. from Nicolaus, and in the Exc. de Ins. from this author, are those of Büttner-Wobst and De Boor respectively. See the two parts of Table II.

[I, II.] *Assyria and Media.*

- Fr. 7 (Exc. de Ins. 2) Semiramis.
- 8 (Exc. de Virt. 7) Sardanapalos.
- 9 (Exc. de Ins. 3) Sardanapalos.
- 10 (Exc. de Virt. 8) Parsondas and Nanaros.
- 11 (Suidas s.v. *ἐξεκελήκει*) Nanaros.
- 12 (Exc. de Virt. 9) Zarina and Stryangaïos.
- **13 (Etym. M. p. 180, 43) Achaemenes of Persia.

[III.] *Early Greece, etc.*

- Fr. 14 (Exc. de Ins. 4) Boeotia: Amphion and Zethos.
- 15 (Exc. de Ins. 5) Boeotia: Laios.
- 16 (Exc. de Virt. 10) Bellerophon.
- 17 (Exc. de Ins. 6) Peloponnesus: Pelops and Oenomaus.
- 18 (Exc. de Virt. 11) Thessaly: the Argonauts.
- 19 (Exc. de Ins. 7) Thessaly: Larisa, daughter of Piasos.
- 20 (Exc. de Virt. 12) Herakles.
- 21 (Exc. de Virt. 13) Troy: King Skamandros.
- 21a (Schol. Hom. Odys. I. 21) Odysseus.

IV. *Lydia, etc.*

- **Fr. 22 (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τόρρηβος*) Torrhebos.
- 23 (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Λυκοσθένη*) Lycosthene (city).
- 24 (Exc. de Virt. 14) Meles the tyrant; Moxos.
- **25 (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Νήραβος*) Nerabos (city).

- **26 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀσκάλων) Askalos, general of
 27 (Exc. de Virt. 15) Daughter of Salmoneus.
 28 (Exc. de Virt. 16) Kamblitas (Kambles).
 **29 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀσκανία) Ascania (city in Troad).

Damascus.

- **Fr. 30 (Josephus Ant. Iud. I. 7. 2) Abraham.
 31 (Josephus Ant. Iud. VII. 5. 2) Adados.

Greece.

- **Fr. 32 (Const. Porph. De them. II. 6) Peloponnesus.
 33 (Exc. de Virt. 17) The Amythaonidae (of Pylos).
 34 (Exc. de Ins. 8) Agamemnon and Aegisthus.
 **35 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρνία) Karnia (city in Ionia).
 36 (Exc. de Virt. 18) The Heracleidae.
 **37 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Θόρναξ) Mt. Thornax in Laconia.
 38 (Exc. de Ins. 9) Temenos, and Deiphontes one of the
 Heracleidae.
 39 (Exc. de Ins. 10, 11) Kresphontes and Aipyros of
 Sparta.
 **40 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσόλα, Νηρίς) Messenian cities.
 41 (Exc. de Ins. 12, 13) Pheidon: Korinthos.

V. *Greece: Arcadia.*

- Fr. 42 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρκάς) The name Arcadia.
 43 (Exc. de Virt. 19) King Lykaon of Arcadia.
 **44 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Βωταχίδαι, Παρώρεια) Arcadian
 cities.

The Euxine and Aegean.

- 45 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσημβρία) City in Thrace.
 46 (Socrates Hist. Eccles. VII. 25) Chrysopolis, city
 near the Bosporus.
 **47 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Σίφνος, Σκύρος, Ἀμοργός) Islands in
 the Aegean.
 48 (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀγαμήδη, Ὑπερδέξιον) Places in
 Lesbos.

[VI.] *Lydia.*

- Fr. 49 (Exc. de Ins. 14, 15) Ardys to Gyges.

Greece.

- Fr. 50 (Exc. de Ins. 16) Athens.
 51 (Exc. de Virt. 20) Athens.
 52 (Exc. de Ins. 17) Cyrene.

- 53 (Exc. de Ins. 18) Ionia.
- 54 (Exc. de Ins. 19, 20) Ionia.
- 55 (Exc. de Ins. 21) Thessaly: Jason and Medeia.
- 56 (Exc. de Virt. 21) Thessaly: Acastus and Peleus.
- **57 (Exc. de Virt. 22) Sparta: Lycurgus.

[VII.] *Greece.*

- Fr. 58 (Exc. de Ins. 22) Corinth: Cypselus.
- 59 (Exc. de Virt. 23) Corinth: Periander.
- 60 (Exc. de Ins. 23, 24) Corinth: Periander.
- 61 (Exc. de Ins. 25) Sicyon: Myron.

Lydia.

- Fr. 62 (Exc. de Virt. 24) Gyges and Magnes.
- 63 (Exc. de Virt. 25) Sadyattes, son of Alyattes.
- 64 (Exc. de Virt. 26) Alyattes, son of Sadyattes.
- 65 (Exc. de Virt. 27) Croesus.

Persia and Media.

- 66 (Exc. de Ins. 26) Cyrus.
- 67 (Exc. de Virt. 28) Cyrus.

Lydia.

- 68 (Exc. de Virt. 29) Croesus and Cyrus.

Rome.

- 69 (Exc. de Virt. 30) Amulius and Numitor.
- **70 (Exc. de Virt. 31) Romulus.

Table II. *The two parts of this table are given below, facing each other, on pages 14 and 15.*

At first sight, in the second table, if we look only at the order of the excerpts and their subjects, there appears to be little or no classification, or at best only a very haphazard arrangement. The excerptor seems to give a section or group of extracts from one part of Nicolaus' work, following them by a few from another part, then returning again to some country already touched upon, and so on. Is this chaos due to lack of system on the part of the excerptor, or due to Nicolaus himself?

Müller has divided these Excerpta, assigning particular excerpts to particular 'books' of Nicolaus' *Universal History*. An indication of this division into books is given in the left-hand column in the outline of the Exc. de Virtutibus. We can trace some of the excerpts in this collection to their proper books with certainty, others with probability, as follows. At the end of Exc. de Virt. 22 we find τέλος τοῦ σ' λόγου Νικολάου Δαρμασκηνοῦ. At the end of Exc. de Virt. 31 we find τέλος τοῦ ζ' λόγου τῆς Νικολάου ιστορίας. These excerpts belong therefore without doubt to books VI and VII respectively. Next, Müller⁴ puts Exc. de Virt. 19 into book V, because this excerpt is about Lykaon of Arcadia, and frags. 42 and 44 (from Steph. Byz.) about Arcadia (compare Table I) are expressly assigned to book V in the wording of the fragments themselves. On the same principle Müller rightly puts Exc. de Virt. 17 and 18 (FHG. III, 374, 375; frags. 33, 36) into book IV. These fragments are about the Peloponnesus and the Heracleidae; and fragments 32, 37, and 40 (Müller's numbering; compare Table I) are also about the Peloponnesus and are expressly assigned to book IV. Müller also with good reason puts Exc. de Virt. 14-16 into book IV (frags. 24, 27, 28). They are on Lydian history; and frags. 22 and 26 (compare Table I), from Steph. Byz., also on Lydian history, are expressly assigned to book IV. Lastly, Exc. de Virt. 7-9 (Müller frags. 8, 10, 12) concerning Assyria and Media, doubtless belong to book I or book II of Nicolaus, not only because they come at the very beginning of the series of excerpts from his *Universal History* (Exc. de Virt. 1-6 are taken from his *Autobiography*), but also because frag. 13 concerning Achaemenes

⁴ FHG. III. 378, 379; frag. 43.

TABLE II: first part.
Outline of the fragments from Nicolaus' Universal History contained in the
EXCERPTA DE VIRTUTIBUS ET VITIIS.

Müller's arrangement in 'books'. FHG. III, 345 ff., 356 ff.	Numbering of the sections in the edition of the Exc. de Virt. by Büttner-Wobst.	Content of fragments.
I, II	*7, 8, 9 (Müller fr. 8, 10, 12)	ASSYRIA AND MEDIA.
III	10-13 10(M. 16) 11(M. 18) 12(M. 20) 13(M. 21)	EARLY GREECE. Bellerophon. Thessaly: the Argonauts. Herakles Troy: king Skamandros.
IV	*14-16 14(M. 24) 15(M. 27) 16(M. 28) 17-23 17-19 *17 (M. 33) *18 (M. 36)	LYDIA. Meles the tyrant; Moxos. Daughter of Salmoneus. Kamblitas (Kambles). GREECE. Peloponnesus. The Amythaonidae (of Pylos). The Heracleidae.
V	*19 (M. 43)	Arcadia: king Lykaon.
VI	20 (M. 51) 21 (M. 56) * *22 (M. 57)	Athens. Thessaly: Acastus and Peleus. Peloponnesus. Sparta: king Lycurgus.
VII	23 (M. 59) 24-29 (M. 62-65, 67, 68) * *30, 31 (M. 69, 70)	Corinth: Periander. LYDIA. Gyges and his successors. Cyrus of PERSIA. ROME: Amulius; Numitor; Romulus.

* Müller's assignment of these fragments or sections to this particular 'book' of Nicolaus' Universal History is very probable.

** Assignment certain.

TABLE II: second part.
Outline of the fragments from Nicolaus' Universal History contained in the
EXCERPTA DE INSIDIIS.

Proposed new arrangement of 'books'.	Müller's arrangement in 'books'. FHG. III, 345 ff., 356 ff.	Numbering of the sections in the edition of the Exc. de Ins. by De Boor (series with Boissevain and Büttner-Wobst).	Content of fragments.
I, II		2, 3 (Müller fr. 7, 9)	ASSYRIA AND MEDIA.
III	III	4-13 4, 5 (M. 14, 15) 6-13 6 (M. 17) 7 (M. 19)	EARLY GREECE. Boeotia: Amphion and Zethos; Laios. Peloponnesus, etc. Pelops and Oenomaus. Thessaly: Larisa, * daughter of Piasos.
	IV	8 (M. 34) 9 (M. 38) 10, 11 (M. 39) 12 } (M. 41) 13 }	Agamemnon and Aegisthus. Temenos, and Deiphontes one of the Heracleidae. Ktesphontes and Aipyros of Sparta. Pheidon. Korinthos.
IV	VI	14, 15 (M. fr. 49)	LYDIA. Ardys to Gyges.
V			
VI		16-25 16 (M. 50) 17 (M. 52) 18-20 (M. 53, 54) 21 (M. 55)	GREECE. Athens. Cyrene Ionia. Thessaly: Jason and Medeia.
VII	VII	22-24 (M. 58, 60) 25 (M. 61) 26 (M. 66)	Corinth: Cypselus; Periander. Sicyon: Myron. PERSIA and MEDIA. Cyrus.
		27 (M. 101)	ROME; Life of Caesar.
* See Müller, FHG. III, 368, note 19.			

of Persia (compare Table I) is expressly assigned to book II. There are no indications (such as the foregoing) of the particular 'books' to which Exc. de Virt 10-13, 20, 21, 23-29 belong; but we have just seen that the definitely located excerpts and those located with extreme probability appear in perfectly regular and normal positions in the series. That is, excerpts from books I and II come at the beginning of the series, excerpts from book IV a little farther along, and after them in regular succession excerpts from books V, VI, and VII. One may therefore feel practically certain that the doubtful excerpts, though no clue or indication of position is attached to them, come in just where the excerptor puts them, and belong to the 'books' to which Müller assigns them. Especially is this true of Exc. de Virt. 23-29. These must belong to the first part and the middle part of Book VII, because they come between Exc. de Virt. 22, the definitely known end of book VI, and Exc. de Virt. 30, 31, the definitely located end of book VII.

We may conclude, then, that the excerptor did use the same 'straightforward' method of arrangement not only in his excerpts from Josephus and Diodorus, but also in those from Nicolaus; and the apparent confusion in the subject matter is due to Nicolaus himself. His plan or system seems to have been this: to take one historical period and give parallel histories or accounts of different countries, one after the other, all belonging to the same general period; then to take a later period and do the same thing over again. This accounts for the frequent returns to the history of a country already touched upon.

II. The Excerpta de Insidiis.

This series of excerpts is similar in nature to the Exc. de Virtutibus, and consists of a series of extracts from various authors, all bearing upon and illustrating the main theme indicated in the title of the collection. And here also one of the source books used by the excerptor was Nicolaus' *Universal History*. For purposes of comparison the outline of the Exc. de Ins. has already been given, facing that of the Exc. de Virt.

Now, in the Exc. de Virt. we have seen that there are some

definite indications of location, assigning particular excerpts to particular books in Nicolaus' work. In the *Exc. de Ins.* there are no such indications. But one needs only to compare the general trend of the subjects or countries mentioned in the two outlines (the right-hand column in each outline) in order to feel certain that in both collections of *Excerpta* the excerptor used the same 'straightforward' method, and therefore that the order of the excerpts gives us the correct order of Nicolaus' own work.

Müller has attempted to assign the particular *Excerpta de Insidiis* to their respective books, and one may agree in general with his assignments, though with some important exceptions. In the *Exc. de Ins.* Müller rightly puts the history of Assyria and Media into books I and II. *Exc. de Ins.* 4-7 he rightly assigns to book III, in which early Greek history is treated, as we see in the outline of the *Exc. de Virt.* *Exc. de Ins.* 16-21 he rightly puts in book VI, and 22-26 in book VII. We may note that the position of *Exc. de Ins.* 16, 21, and 22-24, concerning Athens, Thessaly, and Corinth, respectively, corresponds exactly in the general order of the excerpts to the position of *Exc. de Virt.* 20, 21, and 23, which also concern respectively Athens, Thessaly, and Corinth.

But Müller is perhaps wrong in assigning *Exc. de Ins.* 8-13 to book IV, and almost certainly wrong in putting *Exc. de Ins.* 14 and 15 into book VI. One can easily see, however, why he did so. *Exc. de Ins.* 8-13 concern the history of the Peloponnesus, and No. 9 is about one of the *Heracleidae*; and this seems to correspond very well with the Greek history from book IV in the *Exc. de Virt.* But if *Exc. de Ins.* 8-13 belong to book IV, and 16-21 to book VI, then 14 and 15 (which come between these two groups) might well be assigned to book V or perhaps to the first part of book VI. This would be Müller's reason, if expressed.⁵

Against this view the following considerations seem per-

⁵ Even he, however, recognizes that it is not conclusive, for he puts the words "[Ἐκ βιβλ. ε']" in brackets (cf. FHG. III, 380) at the head of frag. 49 (= *Exc. de Ins.* 14, 15), thus showing that he is uncertain whether it should be assigned to that book. Compare Table I, and contrast the lack of brackets at the beginning of books IV and V, where he feels no such uncertainty.

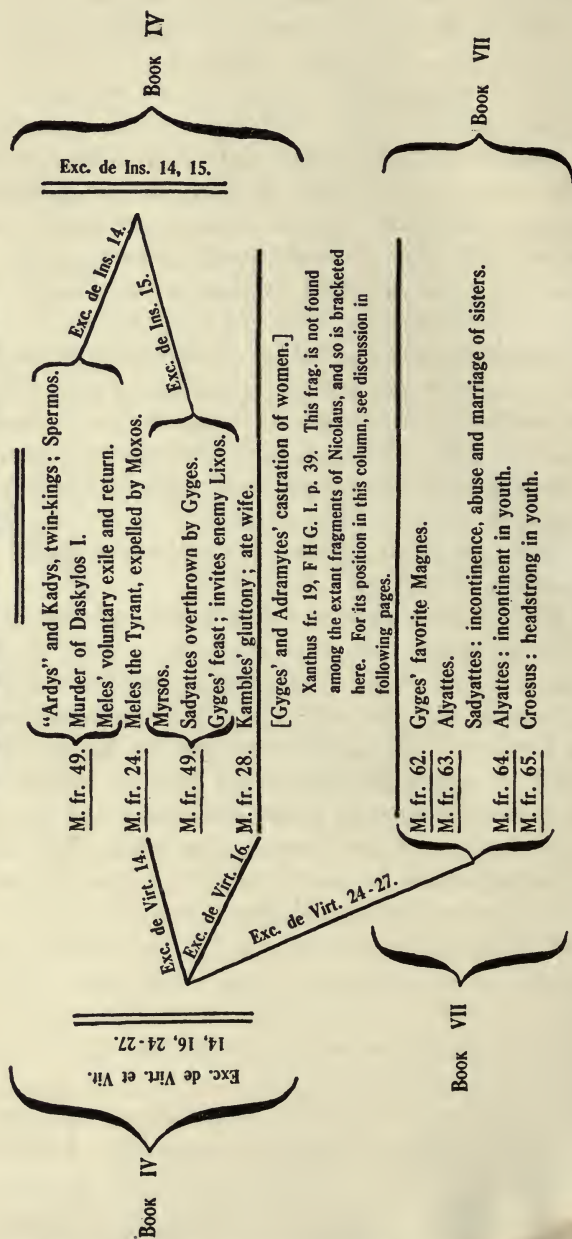
tinent: Müller's assignment of Exc. de Ins. 8-13 to book IV certainly seems within the range of possibility, but it is equally possible to put them in book III; for, as we see by the outline of the Exc. de Virt., book III also contains Greek history, and one excerpt (No. 12) is about Herakles. That is, we may consider Exc. de Ins. 8-13 simply a continuation of the same general passage to which 4-7 belong, and thus put 4-13 all in book III. Further, Agamemnon (Exc. de Ins. 8) would of course be mentioned in connection with the story of the Trojan war, and in the outline of the Exc. de Virt. we can see that there is a corresponding fragment in book III (No. 13) dealing with Skamandros, King of Troy. It seems, therefore, very reasonable indeed to place Exc. de Ins. 8-13 in book III. It would of course be possible to put Exc. de Virt. 13 into book IV (though Müller does not do so), and then retain Müller's location of Exc. de Ins. 8-13 in book IV to correspond with it. But whether the two groups, Exc. de Virt. 13 and Exc. de Ins. 8-13 are placed both of them in book III (which seems to me preferable), or whether they are both placed in the first part of book IV, it nevertheless remains true in either case that Exc. de Ins. 14 and 15 (concerning Lydia) will naturally and almost of necessity fall not into book VI where Müller places them, but into book IV, because book IV in the outline of the Exc. de Virt. contains a section or division on Lydian history which, as we have seen above, can be definitely assigned to book IV. In this way, Lydian history occupies an exactly corresponding position in both outlines. Further, at the end of the Exc. de Virt. we have this order: "Corinth—Lydia and Persia—Rome", corresponding to "Corinth—Persia and Media—Rome" at the end of the Exc. de Ins. Thus, all the Oriental sections throughout the two outlines will correspond exactly: the fragments from book VII, Persia and Media—Lydia, Persia; from book IV, Lydia—Lydia; from books I, II, Assyria and Media—Assyria and Media. But this correspondence, stated a little differently, and coupled with the other coincidences of arrangement already pointed out, means simply that the entire outline of the Exc. de Ins. will thus correspond, throughout, in its arrangement, to that of the Exc. de Virtutibus.

The proposed change, or reassignment of fragments to

books in the Exc. de Insidiis, seems therefore considerably more satisfactory than Müller's arrangement.

III. Proceeding then from this basis, we can see at once that Exc. de Virt. 14-16 (Meles and Moxos; Kambles) and Exc. de Ins. 14, 15 (Ardys to Gyges) belong to the same general passage on Lydian history, in the same book of Nicolaus' *Universal History*. The importance of this will be brought out later. Meanwhile, the question at once arises: in what order should these fragments in book IV from the Exc. de Virt. and those from the Exc. de Ins. be combined, so as to arrive at the original consecutive order of the narrative in Nicolaus concerning Lydian history? A tentative arrangement or combination of the fragments is represented by the column or table given on the next page, and in the following pages reasons will be given for inserting particular fragments where they are here placed. With such an "original account" in Nicolaus, in the upper part of the column, belonging to the earlier section of Lydian history (Nicolaus book IV) the excerptor de Virt. et Vit. would find nothing to suit the purposes of his collection of 'virtues' and 'vices' except the bravery of Moxos and the gluttony of Kambles (Kamblitas). But the rest of this first part, detailing the plots and rivalry (insidiae) between the two great families of the Heracleidae and the Mermnadae, would naturally be given at some length by the excerptor de Insidiis. And vice versa the entire lower part of the column, the later section of Lydian history (Nicolaus book VII), would from its very nature be appropriate for the Exc. de Virt. et Vit., but not for the Exc. de Ins.

"Original account" of Lydian History contained in Nicolaus' Universal History, books IV and VII. Müller fr. 49, 24, 28, 62 - 65.



CHAPTER II

MELES

I. The present discussion will be easier to follow, if the entire "summary of traditional accounts", given below at the beginning of Chapter III, be read here. In our traditional accounts of Lydia, we have three different stories about a person or persons named Meles, two of which are found in the fragments of Nicolaus.

1. Meles of the Lion,⁶ whom we may call Meles I. Herodotus (I. 84) tells the familiar story about a King Meles whose concubine bore him a lion. This beast he was to carry round the walls of the acropolis at Sardes, according to the directions of the oracle at Telmessos, and thus render the fortress impregnable.

2. Meles the Tyrant,⁷ who was driven out by Moxos. We may call him Meles II.

3. King Meles,⁸ who went into voluntary exile to Babylon. He may be called Meles III.

Thus far historians have considered that at least Meles II was different from Meles III, e.g. Rawlinson, *Hist. of Herodotus* (1880), vol. I, 342, note 1; Stein, *Herodotos* (1901), vol. I, 103; How and Wells, *Com. on Herodotus* (1912), vol. I, 97. Among those who make this distinction are Schubert and Radet. The latter does not mention Meles II at all; so we may conclude that he classes the story about him among the "récits⁹ purement légendaires" to which he consigns Meles I. But he certainly does not consider the Meles of the Exile (III) to be the same as Meles the Tyrant (II); else, where he discusses the reign¹⁰ of the former, he would surely make some mention of the latter and of the account that Moxos drove

⁶The relation of Meles I to II and III will be discussed a little later, pp. 30 ff.; so Meles I may here be omitted from our consideration, although it seemed best to mention him here in order to justify the terminology I, II, III.

⁷Nicolaus fr. 24. See text below, p. 26.

⁸Nicolaus fr. 49. See below, summary of traditional accounts, pp. 33, 34.

⁹*La Lydie*, 70.

¹⁰*La Lydie*, 78, 83, 88, et al.

him out. Schubert also plainly considers Meles II and III to be different persons. For he mentions Meles the Tyrant (II) on p. 4 (*Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.*) as the predecessor of "King" Moxos, among the kings whom he believes were of Herodotus' dynasty of the "Atyadae" (*op. cit.* p. 1). But he does not mention him at all on pages 9, 10, 22, where he takes up Meles III as one of the last few "Heracleidae" of Nicolaus and Herodotus.

But, as the course of this investigation will show, it is of great importance to determine whether there was more than one person named Meles. Now, it is reasonable to assume that, where the same name occurs more than once in a historical account, the same person is indicated, unless the names are qualified in some way or there is some valid reason for distinguishing the persons referred to. Consequently, it is proper to investigate all reasons which can be adduced for distinguishing between Meles II and III. If these reasons are not sufficient, it is reasonable to believe that both the passages in Nicolaus which mention Meles refer to the same person.

II. 1. Possible reasons for considering Meles II and III different persons.

a. Some have considered that Moxos was the successor of Meles II, the Tyrant, since he drove the latter out; whereas the successor of Meles III is not Moxos, but Myrsos. Clearly this is one of the reasons which caused Schubert¹¹ to separate Meles II and III. But the actual text does not warrant us in believing that Moxos (Mopsos)¹² was a king at all. The words used in referring to him are simply *Μόξος ὁ Λυδός, οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ*,¹³ and *ὑπὸ Μόψου τοῦ Λυδοῦ*.¹⁴ Moxos may have been only a general, and reasons for believing that he was so will be brought forward below, pp. 46 ff. If so, then he would not be the successor of the Meles whom he drove out.

b. In Nicolaus fr. 24 Meles II is spoken of as a *τύραννος*, and is driven out; while in fr. 49 Meles is called *βασιλεύς*, goes voluntarily into exile to Babylon, returns, and resumes his throne. Since these statements differ, it looks as if

¹¹ *Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.* 4, 5.

¹² These are doubtless two forms of the same name. See below, p. 47.

¹³ Nicolaus fr. 24; FHG. III, 371.

¹⁴ Xanthus fr. 11; FHG. I, 38.

Nicolaus must have believed Meles II to be different from Meles III.

But these two stories, however different, are neither contradictory nor mutually exclusive, and so may well relate to the same person. It is quite possible that the original passage in Nicolaus from which (as will be shown later) we may believe that both these two excerpts were taken, gave a combined account of a king who withdrew from his kingdom, and after three years resumed his throne, but only to be expelled permanently a little later.

c. Meles II is mentioned in fr. 24. But this fragment, in Nicolaus' original narrative, certainly preceded¹⁵ fr. 28, which mentions a king named Kambles (Kamblitas). Schubert therefore concludes that the chronological position of Meles II in the line of kings must have been before Kambles.¹⁶ Further, Schubert and others have assumed that the place which the Kambles episode occupied in Nicolaus' narrative is to be determined by the position of Kambles in the line of kings; and that, since Kambles' name does not appear among the names of the Mermnadae, the last dynasty of Lydian kings, nor among the last four or five Heracleidae, who immediately preceded the Mermnadae, Kambles must have preceded¹⁷ all of these. Consequently it would seem that the mention of Meles II, since it preceded the mention of Kambles, must also have preceded

¹⁵ See outline of the Exc. de Virt., given above p. 14; see also the table on p. 20, which gives Nicolaus' "original account" of Lydian history.

¹⁶ Schubert says (*Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.* 5) "Die Könige Meles und Moxos hatte Xanthus sicher früher angesetzt als den Kambles, da sie in dem Excerpte de Virtutibus an einer früheren stelle erscheinen." And we have seen in the foregoing pages that the order of the excerpts faithfully represents the order in Nicolaus (Xanthus).

¹⁷ Our traditional accounts of the Herakleid dynasty include only the last four or five kings (mentioned by Nicolaus, fr. 49. See summary pp. 33 ff.). Beyond these is only the legendary Agron (fifth in line from Herakles) whom Herodotus (I. 7) calls founder of this dynasty. Schubert (l.c) places Kambles not only before the last few Heracleidae but also before the entire dynasty, among the "Atyadae" who according to Herodotus preceded the Heracleidae. His reason for doing so is doubtless based on a passage in Müller (FHG. III, 372, note 28.4) which is in substance as follows: Kambles (Nicolaus fr. 28; see summary p. 35, note 3) thought he had been bewitched when he

the mention of the last few Heracleidae. If this were true, then Nicolaus cannot have regarded Meles II as identical with Meles III, whom he in fr. 49 places among the last few Heracleidae.

But, in the first place, there is some reason to believe (as will be shown later, pp. 40 ff.) that Kambles is to be identified with one of the Mermnadae. In this case it is obvious that Meles II might come before Kambles and still be identical with Meles III.

Secondly: whether Kambles was a Mermnad or not, in any case the story¹⁸ about him,—a man so gluttonous that he ate his own wife,—is altogether anecdotal in character, and of a kind likely to be introduced into a narrative as an illustration of some topic under discussion. Since this is so, then the position of Kambles in a chronological list of the kings (even if Kambles were a very early king) does not determine the place which the Kambles story occupied in Nicolaus' narrative. Further, we have also another example of a statement about a Lydian king introduced as an illustration out of its chronological order, in the account of another king given by Xanthus and so doubtless by Nicolaus. Athenaeus (XII. 11. 515.d) quoting from Xanthus¹⁹ book II, tells us that the Lydians were so given to luxury that they even practised the castration of women, and that Adramytes, king of the Lydians, originated the custom. Hesychius Milesius²⁰ and Suidas,²¹ however, both giving Xanthus book II as their authority, say that Gyges was the originator of this practice, his purpose being to keep the women fresh and young. The original statement in Xanthus was doubtless in connection²² with Gyges, to the effect that Gyges like Adramytes, or that Adramytes like Gyges practised the custom.

found he had eaten his wife; and certain Lydians suspected Iardanos, because of his enmity to Kambles. And Herodotus (I. 7) says that Herakles by a slave girl of Iardanos became the progenitor of the Herakleid dynasty.

¹⁸ See summary, p. 35, note 3.

¹⁹ Xanthus fr. 19, FHG. I, 39.

²⁰ Hesych. Miles. *De Viris Illustribus*, (ed. J. Flach; Teub.) p. 40, no. XLIX, v. *Ἐδνθος*.

²¹ Suidas, s.v. *Ἐδνθος*.

²² For, so far as we know, Gyges was a much more famous king than Adramytes, of whom we know almost nothing beyond this fragmentary

But, it will here be urged, it does not apparently alter the situation even if it be granted that the story about Kambles was only an illustration and therefore that its place in Nicolaus' narrative was not determined by Kambles' position in the line of kings. Just where is the place of this story in Nicolaus' work? It is clear that fr. 24 (Meles II) and fr. 28 (Kambles) are closely connected, as regards their position in Nicolaus' narrative; and if the place of either of them be fixed, it will to a large extent determine that of the other. But there seems to be no suitable connection into which the Kambles episode would fit, in the course of the passage in Nicolaus from which fr. 49 was excerpted. And if the story belongs before fr. 49 in Nicolaus' original narrative, then it is still true, since the mention of Meles II preceded that of Kambles, that Meles II cannot be identical with Meles III. However, no reason can be given for placing fr. 28 preferably before fr. 49, and it is a priori equally possible to place it after fr. 49 instead of before it. Therefore the reason just given against the identification of Meles II and III is not conclusive. Furthermore, the next few pages will show that fr. 24 may very reasonably be placed in the course of the passage in Nicolaus of which fr. 49 is an abridgment: if so, then fr. 28 must have come later still.

2. There seems to be no other reason to distinguish Meles II from Meles III; and since the reasons already stated are by no means conclusive, it is proper to assume that the Meles of fr. 24 and the Meles of fr. 49 are the same.

Not only is there this presumption that there was only one person named Meles, in the absence of any valid proof to the contrary, but any other view involves the historian in a most serious difficulty. It may be seen in the outlines given above (pp. 14, 15) that Exc. de Virt. et Vitiis 14 and 16 (concerning Meles II and Moxos, and Kambles) and Exc. de Ins. 14 and 15 (dealing with the last few Heracleidae, including Meles III, and Gyges) were taken from the same general

mention. (It will be shown later, pp. 42 ff., that Adramytes was possibly one of Gyges' successors.) Perhaps Athenaeus, finding the name Adramytes unfamiliar, assumed that he was an earlier king and therefore assigned to him the first practice of this custom. Xanthus' meaning was more probably that given by the other two writers cited.

passage concerning Lydian history, contained in Nicolaus' book IV. Thus:

Exc. de Virt.

14 (= Nic. fr. 24) Meles
II, Moxos

16 (= Nic. fr. 28) Kambles
(Kamblitas)

Exc. de Ins.

14 and 15 (= Nic. fr. 49) The
kings from "Ardys" I to
Gyges inclusive, including
Meles III.

It is to be noticed that the two fragments dealing with a King Meles are quoted by different excerptors. In one it is said that Meles was deposed from his tyranny, that in his time Lydia was visited by a great drought, and that οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ μαντείαν κατέφευγον. In the other we are told that when Meles was king Lydia suffered a great famine, and οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ μαντείας ἐτράποντο, and that Meles went into exile at Babylon for three years but afterwards resumed his kingdom. The full text of the passages in question is as follows:

Fr. 24 (Exc. de Virt. 14):
*Ὅτι Μόξος ὁ Λυδός, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐργασάμενος, καὶ τὸν Μῆλην τῆς τυραννίδος καθελὼν, τοῖς Λυδοῖς παρεκελεύσατο τὴν δεκάτην ἀποδοῦναι, καθὰ ἡῤῥατο, τοῖς θεοῖς. Οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, καὶ ἀπαριθμοῦντες τὰ κτήματα ἐξῆρουν τὴν δεκάτην ἀπάντων, καὶ κατέθουν. Ἐκ τούτου μέγιστος αὐχμὸς καταλαμβάνει Λυδίαν, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ μαντείαν κατέφευγον. Πολλὰς δὲ στρατείας λέγεται πεποιῆσθαι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγιστον ἐν Λυδοῖς ἐπὶ τε ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Ταῦτα δὲ πράξας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Κράβον ἐστάλη, καὶ πόλυν χρόνον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας εἰλε καὶ ἐπόρθησε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν πλησίον λίμνην ἀγαγὼν οἷα ἀθέους ἐπόντωσεν.

Fr. 49 (Exc. de Ins. 14):
*Ἐπὶ Μῆλῳ δὲ βασιλεύοντος Λυδῶν σφόδρα ἐλίμνη Λυδία· καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ μαντείας ἐτράποντο. Τοῖς δ' ἐσήμαινε τὸ δαιμόνιον δίκας πράττεσθαι τοῦ Δασκύλου φόνου παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ φεύγοντα ἐπὶ γ' ἔτη καθήρασθαι τὸν φόνον, ἔφυγεν ἐθελουσίως εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. *Ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ εἰς Φρυγίαν παρὰ τὸν Δασκύλου παῖδα, Δάσκυλον καὶ αὐτὸν ὄνομα, ὄντινα ἢ μήτηρ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἔφυγε, κελεύων εἰς Σάρδεϊς ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ δίκας δέχεσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς φόνου παρ' αὐτῶν· οὕτως γὰρ ἐθέσπιζον οἱ μάντις. Ὅ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέισθη, λέγων μὴ ἑωρακεῖν τὸν πατέρα· κνεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔτι ὅτε ἀνήρητο· οὐκ οὖν προσήκειν αὐτῷ ταῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν. Μῆλης δὲ φεύγων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίστευσε Σαδνάττῃ τῷ Κάδνῳ, γένος ὄντι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Τύλῳνος, ὅστις φεύγοντα ἐπετρόπευσε, καὶ κατιόντα ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐδέξατο μετὰ τρία ἔτη, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν οἱ ἀπέδωκε πιστῶς.

The resemblance pointed out between these two fragments is certainly striking. It is true that in the first case the famine appears to have occurred after Meles was driven out. But it is obvious that in fr. 24 the excerptor has, with carelessness or haste, inserted out of its proper place the sentence about the drought. It has no point in its present position, and disturbs the narrative. Moreover, it can hardly belong immediately *after* the statement that Moxos instituted the custom of offering tithes to the gods. It is more probable that the custom was supposed to have been instituted either in thanksgiving for the ending of the drought, or to prevent its recurrence.

It is also true that in the first case Meles is represented as driven out from his kingdom, while in the second he is said to have gone into voluntary and temporary exile. But, as already noted once before,²³ these two statements may well have been given in combination by Xanthus (Nicolaus), and were doubtless derived from different versions of the same story. In all other respects the accounts of Meles in the two fragments are so similar that they can hardly be thought to have been told of different²⁴ persons of the same name in the same general passage of Nicolaus. It follows, therefore, that so far as the fragments show, Nicolaus knew but one Meles, and gave an account of his career in a single passage

²³ See above, p. 23.

²⁴ Yet it is just this unsatisfactory position that the historian is forced to accept if it be still held that fr. 24 (Meles II) and fr. 28 (Kambles) came before fr. 49 in Nicolaus' narrative. In that case the resemblances noted between the two fragments about Meles could be explained only inadequately and unsatisfactorily by saying that different kings in a dynasty often bore the same name; and that, as to the famine, the recurrence of the event would be sufficient reason for the recurrence of the appeal to the oracle, and this for the recurrence of the statement in the traditional accounts. In view of the fact that, between the two stories about Meles, such similarities exist, notwithstanding that the two fragments come to us through different excerptors each writing from a different point of view, the natural and reasonable conclusion is that given in the discussion above. And it is easy to see why the Excerptor de Virtutibus should dwell upon Moxos and his exploits with but scant mention of Meles, while, vice versa, the Excerptor de Insidiis should omit Moxos and give at some length that part of Nicolaus' account which showed Meles' connection with the wrongs done to the house of Daskylos.

from which somewhat different details were selected by the two excerptors.

3. The position of fr. 28 (Kambles) in Nicolaus' narrative may now easily be determined. Fr. 24, as we have just seen, must have belonged to precisely the same passage in Nicolaus from which that part of fr. 49 dealing with Meles was drawn. Fr. 28, concerning Kambles, appeared later²⁵ in Nicolaus' work than fr. 24. But since fr. 28 was still²⁶ from book IV of Nicolaus, and since fr. 49 ends with Gyges while the first fragment from book VII which relates to Lydian history treats of Gyges again and his passion²⁷ for a male favorite, it is evident that fr. 28 also must have belonged to the same general passage in Nicolaus as fr. 49, but occurred later than fr. 24 and probably later than fr. 49 itself, but before the end of the account of Gyges. Probably, then, the story of Kambles' gluttony was used as an illustration of a similar vice practised by Gyges. Doubtless the same is true (as already mentioned) of the story concerning the castration of women by the kings Adramytes²⁹ and Gyges.

4. There remains to be considered how much of historical fact may be contained in Nicolaus' account of Meles. It has already been suggested that there were two versions concerning Meles' fall which were combined by Xanthus (Nicolaus), namely:

²⁵ Because, in the Exc. de Virt. (see outline, p. 14), fr. 28 (= Exc. de Virt. 16) follows fr. 24 (= Exc. de Virt. 14); and the order of the Excerpta faithfully represents the order in Nicolaus.

²⁶ As we can see from the outlines of the Excerpta (l.c.); for fr. 28 belongs to the earlier section of Lydian history contained in Nicolaus' *Universal History*, whereas the consecutive treatment of the Mermnadae beginning with Gyges belongs to Book VII.

²⁷ See summary of traditional accounts, p. 35.

²⁹ And if, as already suggested (see p. 24, also p. 25, note 22) Adramytes and Kambles were both among the Mermnadae, then their slightly anticipated mention seems still more appropriate in the passage here at the end of fr. 49. See below, pp. 40-43.

A: fr. 24.

Meles was a tyrant and was driven out by Moxos.

B: fr. 49.

a. Meles was a king.

b. He killed Daskylos I. (This is not directly stated in any extant narrative, but it seems to be implied³⁰ by the statement that he made expiation for the death of Daskylos I.)

c. He went voluntarily to Babylon, an exile for three years, in obedience to an oracle which prescribed this form of expiation.

The second version, B, may be considered first.

a. It is not probable that Meles was a legitimate king, for (i). there is no place for him in the royal line. Neither a father nor a son is mentioned in connection with him. (ii). The son of "Ardys" I, the preceding king, is Adyattes II; and no mention is made of any relationship between this Adyattes and Meles.

b. That Meles killed Daskylos I is contradicted by the statement made in the same narrative (fr. 49) that Adyattes, son of King "Ardys" I, killed him.

c. That Meles went voluntarily into exile is essentially improbable and legendary. No despot ever went into voluntary exile merely on account of an oracle, given because a subject had been put to death by another person. Nor would a tyrant be called to account in any such way even if he himself had killed the subject, and even if the victim was a powerful noble. The reckoning, if it came at all, would come in the form of a revolution.

Version B, therefore, appears to be unhistorical,³¹ with

³⁰Radet, *La Lydie*, 78.

³¹Schubert's comment on the story of Meles' voluntary exile seems well grounded. His last clause, however, is rendered untenable by the considerations given above under a and b. He says (*Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.* 23) "Als unbedingt wahr festhalten möchte ich nur die Angabe, dass Meles einmal aus seinem Reiche hat fliehen müssen, und nach dreijähriger Abwesenheit die Regierung aus der Hand des

the exception that Meles may, after having been expelled from his tyranny by Moxos, have returned from Babylon to seize the power a second time, like Peisistratus, only to be deposed permanently a little later. It is quite possible, moreover, to account for the origin of this version. The reference to Meles as a king may be merely a loose statement that he ruled for a time as a "tyrant" or usurper. That he killed Daskylos I may have been a deliberate falsehood circulated later to shield the real author of the assassination. That Meles' absence in Babylon was voluntary may have been suggested in support of this falsehood, in order that this absence might seem a confession of guilt, though in fact the man had been driven out by his political opponents.

Version A then remains.³² It is perfectly reasonable and credible, and it is not contradicted by any other statement. It may therefore be accepted, tentatively at least, as fact.

III. Meles of the Lion (Meles I) has already been mentioned (p. 21), and may now be considered more fully.

1. This Meles is not necessarily to be regarded as the founder of Sardes; although some historians have so represented him. For example, Schubert³³ says: "Als Gründer der Hauptstadt Sardes hat Herodot I. 84 einen König Meles genannt." But Herodotus does not say this. His words are: ἀπότομός τε γάρ ἐστι ταύτη ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸνλέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦλέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. The expression ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς does not mean the "first king of Sardes", but rather "the man who was formerly king". And Herodotus does not even say that

Sadyattes wieder zurückkämpfte. Die Motivierung der Flucht ist natürlich fabelhaft, aber trotzdem schimmert in derselben wohl noch durch, dass Rache der Mermnaden für den Tod des Daskylos dabei die eigentliche Veranlassung war."

³² Since Meles was a tyrant and usurper, he might perhaps (for this reason among others) be identified with Spermos. See summary of traditional accounts, p. 33. However, it is quite possible that, in a long reign like that of "Ardys" I, there were two usurpers, one of whom (Spermos) was beheaded or otherwise done to death, and the other driven out by Moxos.

³³ *Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.*, 3. Schubert here bases his statement on that of Duncker. See p. 31, note 35.

Meles fortified the acropolis much less that he was its founder. His meaning may be simply this: that Meles carried the lion round walls built by his predecessors. There is nothing in the passage from Herodotus which could constitute a reason against the view that this Meles was a comparatively late king of Lydia.

2. This Meles of the Lion has been identified with Meles III by Müller.³⁴ Duncker³⁵ and Schubert,³⁶ however, identify Meles I with Meles II. Both of these identifications are reasonable enough. But the preceding pages have shown that Meles II and Meles III are to be identified. It appears, therefore, that Meles I, II, and III were all the same person.

3. The story about Meles and the Lion is not inconsistent with the account of Meles given by Nicolaus in fragments 24 and 49. But it is plainly anecdotal in character. However, it doubtless had some foundation in legend or perhaps in fact. That is, the story may have been only a folk-tale which was fastened upon Meles; or, there may have been a religious ceremony performed at stated intervals at Sardes, having its origin in some primitive ceremony, a procession for the consecration and protection³⁷ of the city, something perhaps like the Lupercalia at Rome. With this ceremony Meles may have been associated, in popular belief, as its founder.³⁸

IV. The entire preceding discussion concerning Meles may be summarized as follows: There was only one historical

³⁴ FHG. III, 371, footnote on fr. 24. So also Turner, *Notes on Herodotus* (1882), 40.

³⁵ *Gesch. d. Alt.* (5^e Aufl. 1878) vol. I, 479, note 1.

³⁶ *Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.*, 4: "Duncker hat diesen Meles (II) mit dem soeben erwähnten Gründer von Sardes identificirt, wird sich dabei aber auch gewiss klar gemacht haben dass dieses bei dem wiederholten Auftreten des Namens Meles in der lydischen Geschichte keineswegs sicher ist." But since Schubert (l.c.) discusses Meles II only in connection with Meles I (among the "Atyadae"; see above, p. 22), he doubtless accepts, though less confidently, Duncker's identification.

³⁷ Schubert, *Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.*, 4.

³⁸ Or perhaps, on one of the occasions of the ceremony mentioned, Meles may have failed to carry out the directions of the oracle at Telmessos regarding some point in the ritual to be observed. It is quite possible that the oracle mentioned in the fragments from Nicolaus about Meles was this same oracle at Telmessos. See Radet, *La Lydie*, 138, and note 3.

Meles, and the facts about him appear to be these: He was a usurper, probably toward the end of the reign of "Ardys" I, and was driven out by Moxos, supposedly to Babylon. He appears to have returned again to power, only to be expelled permanently. And a report was circulated that he was responsible for the assassination of Daskylos I.

With this as our starting point, we are now in a position to take up a more comprehensive treatment of our ancient sources.

CHAPTER III

THE HERAKLEID AND MERMNAD DYNASTIES OF LYDIA

I. Summary of the traditional accounts given by Nicolaus, Herodotus, and the chronographers.

1. Nicolaus (Müller, FHG. III, 371 ff.).

Frag. 49: ADYATTES, king of the Lydians, left his kingdom to his twin sons, KADYS and ARDYS.

DAMONNO, wife of Kadys, together with her paramour SPERMOS, cousin of Kadys, tried to poison Kadys. The effort failed, but later Kadys died. Damonno and Spermos now drove out Ardys, and seized the kingdom.

Ardys escaped to Kyme. Spermos sent a robber, Kerses, to kill Ardys, and promised him his daughter in marriage, as a reward. By arrangement with Ardys, Kerses returned and beheaded Spermos. His death caused no sorrow or disturbance, for he was a wicked man; and among other misfortunes there was a severe drought¹ while he was king. He reigned for two years, but his name is not written down ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις.

Ardys was now recalled from Kyme, by messengers from the Lydians, among the messengers being some of the "Heraclidae". He reigned best of all the Lydian kings, after ALKIMIOS, and he was beloved and just. He numbered the army of the Lydians: this consisted mostly of cavalry, of which there were 30,000. In his old age, DASKYLOS, son of GYGES of the Mermnad family, became his favorite and gradually obtained complete control of the government. The prince ADYATTES, son of Ardys, secretly killed Daskylos, fearing that on the death of the king the powerful favorite might seize the throne. King Ardys was filled with grief, cursed the murderers, and gave any one who found them permission to kill them. He died after a reign of 70 years.

When MELES was king of the Lydians, there was a great famine in the land, and the people betook² themselves to divina-

¹ ἡβχμῆσε may perhaps mean "the land was in squalid, miserable condition".

² Nicolaus fr. 24, concerning Meles the usurper driven out by Moxos, should be placed here. Reasons for doing so have been given in the

tion. The god instructed them to exact penalty for the death of Daskylos from the king's house. So Meles withdrew to Babylon in voluntary exile for three years, to expiate the murder. Meanwhile he invited to Sardes young DASKYLOS, son of the murdered Daskylos, whose mother had fled with him to Phrygia. The youth, however, declined to come. Meles, on his retirement, entrusted his kingdom to SADYATTES, son of KADYS, whose remote ancestor was TYLON. This regent faithfully restored the kingdom on Meles' return from Babylon after three years.

In the reign of MYRSOS, Daskylos, the son of Daskylos who was murdered by Sadyattes, in fear lest he should draw upon himself the plots of the Heracleidae, fled from Phrygia to the Syrians of Pontus, beyond Sinope. There he married a native woman and by her had a son, GYGES.

SADYATTES, the last king of the Lydians, was overthrown as follows. There was at Sardes a certain ARDYS, son of Gyges, and uncle of the Daskylos who went to Pontus. Now, Ardys had no children, so he asked the king's permission to bring Daskylos back from Pontus and adopt him. It was reasonable, he said, to be reconciled with the DASKYLIOI, since the king's ancestors (*προπάτορες*) had already recalled them to Lydia from exile. Ardys' request was granted. But Daskylos liked his new home, and refused to come, so he sent instead his son Gyges, a youth of eighteen.

Gyges, a fine young man, attracted the king's notice and was made one of the royal spear-bearers. The king, after a time, suspected the honor of the young man, and purposely assigned him dangerous tasks in order to get rid of him without openly putting him to death. Gyges accomplished all these tasks by his strength. The king now loved him, and honored him above all others; but this royal favor attracted the jealousy of many, especially of LIXOS, of the Tylonian family.

Gyges, sent by the king to bring home Toudo (a Mysian princess whom King Sadyattes was to marry), fell in love with her, lost control of himself, and tried unsuccessfully to win her favors. Later, to escape the royal vengeance, he together with some of his friends broke into the royal bed-

preceding chapter, and the full text of the fragment is given on p. 26. For MORSOS, ASKALOS, and AKIAMOS, see below, notes 29 and 32.

chamber and killed the king, who had reigned three years. Then Gyges took possession of the woman and of the kingdom. Some of his enemies he killed, others he won over by gifts. Toward Lixos, however, he showed great animosity; but he was finally reconciled to him after the latter's bold reply to him at a banquet.³

Fr. 62. In Nicolaus' account of the Mermnadae, Gyges of course comes first. Fr. 62 tells us of his passion for his handsome favorite Magnes, who was a poet and a musician. Because of insults offered to this person by the people of Magnesia, Gyges invaded their territory and captured their city.

Fr. 63. Next comes SADYATTES,⁴ king of the Lydians, son of ALYATTES. He was brave in war, but in other matters lacked self-control. He violated his own sister and then married her. She had been married to MILETOS, descendant of MELAS, son-in-law of Gyges. Sadyattes also married two other women, sisters of each other, and by them had two natural sons, Attales by one, and ADRAMYS by the other. By his own sister he had a legitimate son, ALYATTES.

Fr. 64. This Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, was violent and uncontrolled in youth, but just and temperate in later life.

Fr. 65. CROESUS, son of Alyattes, in his youth was dissolute and lacked force, but was one of the generals in his father's army, and was placed in command of the town Adramyttium. To raise funds for his quota of troops, he tried to borrow from *Sadyattes*,⁵ a wealthy Lydian merchant, but was refused.

³ Here should be placed the fragments concerning KAMBLES (see above, p. 28). Xanthus (fr. 12) says that Kambles, king of the Lydians, was such a glutton that one night he tore in pieces and devoured his own wife. Early next morning he found his wife's hand in his mouth. The matter was noised abroad, and so he slew himself. Nicolaus (fr. 28) gives almost the same story, with a few additional details, calling the king KAMBLITAS, and adding that Iardanos was suspected by the Lydians of having bewitched the king.

Here also should be placed (see above, pp. 24, 28) Xanthus fr. 19, dealing with the castration of women, a luxurious vice practised by Gyges and ADRAMYTES, kings of Lydia.

⁴ Suidas (s.v. Ἀλυάττης) gives in briefer form the same information found in Nicolaus fr. 63; but both Suidas and Xenophilus (FHG. IV, 530) call this king *Alyattes*, not *Sadyattes*.

⁵ Suidas (s.v. Κροῖσος) gives exactly the same fragment, but calls the miserly merchant *Alyattes*, not *Sadyattes*.

Fr. 68 describes Croesus on the funeral pyre (fragments 66 and 67 are an excursus on Cyrus of Persia).

2. Herodotus' account of early Lydian kings:

I. 7-13: Those who ruled over this country (Lydia) before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom this whole people, formerly called *Maionian*, received the name *Lydian*.

The Heracleidae were descended from HERAKLES and a female slave of Iardanos, in regular order, thus: ALKAIOS, BELOS, NINOS, AGRON the first of the Heracleidae who became king of Sardes. The Heracleidae reigned for 22 generations, a period of 505 years, the son succeeding the father, down to the time of KANDAULES (called by the Greeks "MYRSILOS") son of MYRSOS. Kandaules was the last of this dynasty, and was overthrown and killed by Gyges, son of Daskylos, of the family of the Mermnadae.

Herodotus' account of the Mermnadae is as follows:

GYGES (I. 14). Warred against Miletos and Smyrna and captured Colophon. Sent gold and silver offerings to Delphi: the oracle had confirmed him in the royal power when appeal was made to it by the Lydians. The Delphians called these offerings *Γυγάδας* after the dedicator. Reign, 38 years.

ARDYS (I. 15, 16). Son and successor of Gyges. Warred against Miletos and captured Priene. Kimmerians invaded Asia Minor and captured Sardes excepting the acropolis. Reign, 49 years.

SADYATTES (I. 16, 18). Son and successor of Ardys. Warred with Miletos. Reign, 12 years.

ALYATTES (I. 16, 18, 25, 73, 74). Son and successor of Sadyattes. Warred with Kyaxares and the Medes, for 5 years; eclipse of sun; made peace and formed matrimonial alliance with Kyaxares. Drove Kimmerians out of Asia; took Smyrna; was defeated at Clazomenae; warred with Miletos; made friendly alliance with Miletos. Reign, 57 years.

CROESUS (I. 26-56, 69-81, 83-92, 153-156; III. 14, 34). Son and successor of Alyattes. Warred against Ephesus. Ionian and Aeolian cities made tributary. Planned to attack islands, formed alliance with them instead. Empire extended over almost all of western Asia Minor. Solon at the court of Croesus. Adrastos the Phrygian accidentally killed Atys, son

of Croesus; slew himself in remorse, over the tomb of Atys. Magnificent gifts sent to Delphic oracle. Alliance with Sparta.

Warred with Cyrus; crossed Halys and ravaged territory round Pteria, until checked by Cyrus. Besieged in Sardes and captured by Cyrus. Croesus on the funeral pyre. Taken away to Persia by Cyrus. Accompanied Kambyses to Egypt.

3. The chronographers' lists of the Lydian kings.

These lists are all of one type.⁶ Those of Eusebius⁷ and Julius Africanus⁸ are here taken as the norm.

Alyattes - Spermios

KARDYS	1. ARDYS, son of Alyattes ⁹	36	years
	2. ALYATTES	14	"
	3. MELES	12	"
	4. KANDAULES	17	"
	5. GYGES	36	"
	6. ARDYS	38	"
	7. SADYATTES	15	"
	8. ALYATTES	49	"
	9. CROESUS	15	"
		232	"

⁶ Schubert, *Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.*, 16, 17.

⁷ Schoene-Petermann's edition of Eusebius Chron., vol. II, pp. 76-94, 96; (= Syncellus 455. 6-15, ed. Dindorf, in Corp. scr. hist. Byz., Bonn.).

⁸ Schoene-Petermann, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Appendix VI, p. 220, section 44. b.

⁹ Here the father of the first king in this list is called *Alyattes*, while Nicolaus fr. 49 calls him *Adyattes*. In the different chronographers' lists may be found many variations in the spelling (v. l.) of the names of the individual kings given in the list above.

CONSPECTUS

NICOLAUS (XANTHUS)		HERODOTUS		CHRONOGRAPHERS	
TYLONII	HERACLEIDAE	MERNNADE	HERACLEIDAE	HERACLEIDAE	MERNNADE
TYLON	(ALKIMOS)		HERAKLES ALKAIOS BELOS NINOS AGRON first king of this line at Sardes		
	ADYATIES I	GYGES I		ADYATIES	
KADYS	KADYS "ADYS" I SPEMOS usurper beheaded	ADYS childless uncle of Daskylos II of king "Adys" I		ADYS	
SADYATIES	MELES next king mentioned after for Meles, "Adys" I. Exile to Babylon.	MELES (MORSOS) the Lydian; military deeds; drove out Meles the tyrant; drowned prisoners in lake near Askalon.	MELES of the lion. (Herod. I. 84)	ADYATIES	
LIXOS	MYRSOS, next king mentioned after Meles SADYATIES, "last king of Lydians"; killed by Gyges II.	DASKYLOS II went to Siope in time of king Myros GYGES II favorite of king Sadyattes; killed him	MYRSOS KANDAULES—MYRSILOS killed by Gyges killed Kandaules	MELES KANDAULES	
		ADYATIES	ADYS		ADYS
	(king KAMBLES Glutton; ate wife.)	SADYATIES called "Alvattes" by Suidas and Xenophilius	SADYATIES		SADYATIES
	(king ADYAMYTES Time indefinite)	ADYAMYS ATTALIS ADYATIES	ADYATIES		"ADYATIES"
		GAOSUS In reality last king of Lydia	GAOSUS		GAOSUS

II. Discussion of certain details in the traditional accounts.

1. When the accounts of our various ancient authors are synthesized as is done in the foregoing genealogical conspectus, it becomes apparent that there is much confusion in regard to the names Sadyattes, Adyattes, and Alyattes. For example, Adyattes I (Nicolaus) is Alyattes for the chronographers. The third Mermnad king is Sadyattes for Nicolaus, Herodotus, and the chronographers, but Alyattes for Suidas and Xenophilus. Adyattes II (Nicolaus) is Alyattes for the chronographers. The miserly merchant is Sadyattes for Nicolaus (fr. 65), but Alyattes for Suidas.

It seems evident that the three names in question are varying forms of the same name.¹⁰ But the fact that we find this name (in some one of its forms) used so many times in each of the two dynasties, is also significant. Further, in the traditional accounts there are some apparent contradictions which involve this name:

a. The son of "Ardys" I is called Adyattes by Nicolaus, and Alyattes by the chronographers. But it will be shown below (p. 44) that Myrsos was in all probability this son of "Ardys" I.

b. The king after Myrsos, i.e., the last king of the Heraclidae, killed by Gyges II, is said by Nicolaus to have been Sadyattes; but Herodotus and the chronographers call him Kandaules, and Herodotus adds still another name by which he was known among the Greeks, Myrsilos.

c. The son of Gyges II appears to be Alyattes for Nicolaus; while Herodotus and the chronographers call him Ardys.¹¹

¹⁰ Radet, *La Lydie*, 77, 78.

¹¹ Schubert (*Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.*, 40) finds no explanation at all for the seeming contradiction in the name of this king as given in the different ancient authorities.

Radet (l.c.) says that the Assurbanipal inscription also calls this king "Ardys". The name in the Assurbanipal inscription, however, is restored in a lacuna. See Gelzer, *Rhein. Mus.* xxx (1875), 234 and note. Text of the inscription in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. III, pl. 19, col. iii, line 36, showing lacuna. Another inscription of Assurbanipal, almost word for word the same, but without lacuna (*op. cit.*, vol. V, pl. 2, col. ii, line 120) reads plainly: "After him his son sat upon his throne"; whereas the former reads "... him (-shu in Assyrian) his son ... his throne". Radet appears to have accepted the sign -shu, meaning "him", as the last syllable of the name "Ardys",

Either we have here inexplicable contradictions, or, in view of its frequent use in the two dynasties, we should conclude either that Adyattes (or Sadyattes, or Alyattes) was a name common in the family of these kings and often borne in addition to some other proper name, or else that this name was merely a title¹² and was borne by every king of Lydia. These explanations are supported by the fact that each of the three kings mentioned under *a*, *b*, and *c* above has this same additional name or title, while the proper or individual names respectively were Myrsos, Kandaules,¹³ and Ardys. For Adyattes I we have, so far, only the 'title' and not a proper name. The same may be true of the third and fourth Mermnadae; but, as will be shown in the next two sections, individual names may be found for these two rulers as well as their 'titles'.

2. Kambles (?) = Sadyattes, the 3rd Mermnad king.

In Nicolaus fr. 28 we are told of a king *Kamblitas* who pushed luxury and gluttony to such an extreme that he ate his own wife in his sleep. The same story is given in Xanthus fr. 12, only the king is called *Kambles*. Aelian (*Varia Hist.* I. 27) in giving instances of gluttony mentions *Kambes* the Lydian. Eustathius¹⁴ tells the same story of wife-eating, and clearly uses Xanthus as his source; but he calls the king *Kambysis*. These four names, then, *Kamblitas*, *Kambles*, *Kambes*, and *Kambysis*, were evidently used for the same person.

Now, *Kambyeses*, son of Cyrus of Persia (Herod. III. 1-30 ff.), was said to be a passionate, dissolute, intemperate man. Many stories of self-indulgence and cruelty are attached to him, some of which he may not have deserved. Among other

which he would probably have read "Aīdushu" or "Ardishu", a form involving a restoration for which the lacuna seems too small. Winckler, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (1907), 276, says: "His (Gyges') son is unnamed by Assurbanipal, but is called Ardys by Herodotus." See also E. Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bibl.* (1890) II, 176.

¹² This explanation has already been suggested by Radet (l.c.).

¹³ Schubert's explanation (*Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.* 31) that Kandaules was the brother and successor of Sadyattes seems inadequate.

¹⁴ Com. ad Odyss. IX. vers. 310 (p. 1630 Rom.). Eustathius, seeing in his source what may have been to him the unfamiliar name *Kambes* or *Kambles*, perhaps decided that it should be *Kambyeses*, which he knew well since it was the name of the notorious son of Cyrus.

things, he is said (Herod. III. 31, 32) to have insisted *upon marrying his own sister, and after her another sister*; and the younger woman died as the result of his cruelty and abuse.

In Nicolaus fr. 63 it is said that Sadyattes, the third Mermnad king, was passionate and intemperate, and that *he debauched and married one of his sisters, and also married two other women, sisters*.

The similarity between these stories about wife-abuse may of course be due to the possible fact that both the two kings actually practised such things, and hence a similar story arose about each. But about no other two kings in antiquity do we have just this story told in terms so similar. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that it is perhaps the same story told of two different persons, or rather transferred from one to the other. Probably the story was told originally about the Lydian, and was then applied to the Persian. Such a transference would be most likely to occur if the two kings had the same or a similar name, Kambes or Kambyses. Quite possibly, therefore, Sadyattes the third Mermnad king (Nicolaus fr. 63) had also the individual name Kambes or Kambles, the same name as that of the gluttonous Lydian king mentioned in Nicolaus fr. 28.

We have seen in Chapter II (p. 28) that fr. 28 comes close to and probably after fr. 49, at the end of Nicolaus' treatment of Lydian history in book IV. Fr. 63, concerning Sadyattes the third Mermnad, does not come until Nicolaus' book VII (see outline, p. 14), where he returns to Lydian history. But Nicolaus' authority, Xanthus, wrote not a *Universal History* but *Lydiaca*,¹⁵ which would of course be in continuous form. In this work, therefore, Kambles the glutton and Sadyattes were doubtless mentioned within, comparatively speaking, a few pages of each other, and perhaps in the same passage. It thus seems quite possible that the two were the same person.

There is perhaps an objection to the identification proposed above, in the mention of Iardanos by Nicolaus (fr. 28: see p. 24, note 17; see also summary, p. 35, note 3). If Xanthus identified this Iardanos (who was suspected by some of the Lydians as having bewitched Kambles into eating his own wife) with the Iardanos mentioned by Herodotus (I. 7) as

¹⁵ Suidas, s.v. *Ξάνθος*.

master of the slave girl by whom Herakles became progenitor of the Herakleid dynasty, then Xanthus must have regarded Kambles as a very early king indeed. But there is no evidence, beyond the name, for the identification of these two persons. It is quite possible that tradition knew a later Iardanos, who lived in the time of the third Mermnad king.

3. Adramytes=Adramys=Hermon(?)=Alyattes, father of Croesus.

It has been shown above (p. 24) that a king *Adramytes* is mentioned in Xanthus fr. 19 as having followed a vicious practice known among the Lydian kings, i.e., the castration of women. It has also been shown (p. 28) that this story, like the Kambles episode, probably entered as an illustration into the general discussion of the luxuries and vices of Gyges, just after Nicolaus fr. 49.

According to Nicolaus fr. 63 (see summary, p. 35), one of the natural sons of Sadyattes the third Mermnad is called *Adramys*, and this name is evidently only a variant form of *Adramytes*. Compare Kambles and Kamblitas. Steph. Byz. moreover (s. v. Ἀδραμύττειον) writes as follows: (ἡ πόλις) κέκληται ἀπὸ Ἀδραμύτου κτιστοῦ, παιδὸς μὲν Ἀλνάτον, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἄλλοι. τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑρμῶνος τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως. τὸν γὰρ Ἑρμῶνα Λυδοὶ Ἀδραμνν καλοῦσι Φρυγιστί. From this passage it appears that there was a Lydian king *Adramys*, called by some *Hermon*, and that he was associated with the city Adramyttium, as was also a person of the royal line called *Adramytes*, son of (King) Alyattes. But it has been shown above (p. 39) that Alyattes and Sadyattes are doubtless forms of the same name. It seems reasonable, therefore, to believe that Adramytes son of Alyattes was the same person as Adramys son of Sadyattes, the third Mermnad, and that he became king and was known by the Greeks as Hermon. He would thus be the fourth Mermnad king, known usually as Alyattes (father of Croesus). Further, in Nicolaus fr. 65 we see that Alyattes places his son Croesus in command of the city Adramyttium. It may well be that Alyattes, during his wars, founded or rebuilt¹⁶ or colonized this city which had

¹⁶ The Scholiast on Homer Il. VI. 397 (scholia Townl., ed. Maass, vol. I = vol. V. of Dindorf series [1888, Oxon.], p. 224) tells us that a Pelasgian Adramys of the time of Herakles founded the city.

such a strategic position, and named it after his own name "Adramys". Nothing would then be more natural than that he should place his son in charge of it.

To the identification suggested above there are the following objections possible:

a. Nicolaus (fr. 63) says that Adramys was only a "natural" son of Sadyattes the third Mermnad, and expressly distinguishes him from Alyattes (father of Croesus) the "legitimate" son of this Sadyattes. But Nicolaus' distinction between Adramys and Alyattes may easily be due to Xanthus' having seen both names Adramys and Alyattes used separately of this person in earlier sources, or Adramys called Alyattes after his accession to the throne.

b. In the passage quoted from Steph. Byz. we find that Adramytes is designated as the "brother of Croesus". This would place him in the fifth instead of the fourth generation of Mermnad kings. But the words "brother of Croesus" are apparently only an afterthought inserted by a mistake, by Steph. Byz. himself, or by the compiler of Aristotle's Lydian *πολιτεία*, or by his genealogical source. This mistake was due doubtless to a belief that the name Alyattes for the father of Adramytes could not possibly be the same as the name of Sadyattes (the third Mermnad), and hence must refer to Alyattes, father of Croesus. Compare Rawlinson, *Hist. of Herodotus* (1880), vol. I, 363, note 9.

There seems to be, therefore, in our traditional sources, no valid or conclusive reason against the identification of Adramytes (Adramys, Hermon) with Alyattes, father of Croesus; and so, for the reasons given at the beginning of this section, it seems proper to regard them as the same person. It is possible, then, that in his discussion immediately following the passage from which fr. 49 was taken, Nicolaus (Xanthus) started to describe the vices of Gyges, and from this proceeded to give at once a more or less detailed account of the chief vices of the whole dynasty.

4. The murderer of Daskylos I.

a. When the murder is first mentioned by Nicolaus,¹⁷ the murderer is said to be Adyattes II, son of "Ardys" I, the twin-king.

¹⁷ See summary, p. 33.

b. But soon afterward Nicolaus says that Daskylos I was killed by Sadyattes.¹⁸

c. Further, Nicolaus says that Meles¹⁸ expiated the murder by voluntary exile. Radet therefore believes, as already noted,¹⁹ that *he* must have been the guilty person, for surely he would not take the trouble to wash away the guilt of another person's crime.

We thus have three different persons, apparently, charged with the murder of Daskylos I. But since Sadyattes and Adyattes are only different forms²⁰ of the same name, there is no real contradiction between *a* and *b* above. As for the contradiction between *a* and *c*, Radet's belief that Meles killed Daskylos I is only an inference from the statement that Meles went into voluntary and temporary exile to expiate this crime. This statement appears to be unhistorical, for reasons given above.²¹ And if Meles did not atone for the crime, there remains no reason to believe that he committed it, and no reason to identify him, as Radet does,²² with Adyattes II.

Daskylos I, then, was killed by Adyattes II, son of "Ardys" I. A motive for the crime is given by Nicolaus (see summary, p. 33): the crown prince feared that this powerful favorite would seize the throne upon the old king's death. But did this Adyattes II actually succeed his father? Apparently we have no record that he did. However, if Meles was (pp. 29-32) a usurper and not of the royal house, the first legitimate king mentioned after "Ardys" I is Myrsos,²³ and the next is Myrsos' son Kandaules (Sadyattes).²⁴ Presumably, then, Myrsos was the son of "Ardys" I. From this it is reasonable to conclude that Myrsos was the same person as Adyattes II, and that Myrsos was his individual name, while the other was his title.

It follows, then, that Myrsos killed Daskylos I. Now, the

¹⁸ See summary, p. 34.

¹⁹ See above, p. 29, note 30.

²⁰ See above, p. 39.

²¹ See p. 29.

²² *La Lydie*, 78.

²³ See the conspectus, p. 38.

²⁴ Nicolaus does not say that Sadyattes was son of Myrsos; but Herodotus does say that Kandaules was the son of Myrsos. And reasons have been given above (pp. 39, 40), indicating that Kandaules was the same person as Sadyattes.

only thing we are told²⁵ about Myrsos is that in his reign Daskylos II became alarmed, and fled from Phrygia (where his mother had taken refuge after the death of Daskylos I) into Pontus beyond Sinope. Assuming that it was Myrsos who killed Daskylos I, the flight of Daskylos II from Phrygia is fully explained. It would be perfectly natural for him to flee still farther away when the murderer of his father came to the throne.

5. The *προπάτορες* of Kandaules (Sadyattes).

Ardys (not the king, but the aged and childless Mermnad), in asking permission of Sadyattes (Kandaules) to bring back and adopt his nephew Daskylos II, said it was right for the king to welcome a reconciliation with the Daskylioi,²⁶ since the king's *προπάτορες* had already recalled them to Lydia from exile. But who were these *προπάτορες*? We have an account of only one person who gave such an invitation, namely Meles. Radet²⁷ concludes, therefore, that Meles was the grandfather, the *προπάτωρ*, of the last Herakleid. But Meles, an expelled usurper, cannot be regarded as the grandfather of Kandaules, a king of the regular line; although it may be that he did try²⁸ to win the favor of Daskylos II.

The latest person who could properly be called a *προπάτωρ* of Kandaules was "Ardys" I, who (as we have seen in the preceding section) was apparently his grandfather. And it is certainly natural that "Ardys" I should have recalled, or tried to recall, Daskylos II, since it is stated that he grieved over

²⁵ See summary, p. 34.

²⁶ FHG. III, 383, line 23. See summary above, p. 34. Why is the plural used here? According to the account, only one person, Daskylos II, had been called back. (1) The plural cannot refer to father and son, Daskylos I and II, for Daskylos I had already been murdered before the time of this recall. Besides, the form is *Δασκυλοῖς*, not *Δασκύλοις*. (2) It doubtless refers to the family and household of Daskylos I, which would include his son Daskylos II and the immediate relatives. (3) Further, "Daskylos" may well have been an ancestral name in the Mermnad family, going back for many generations earlier than our records. The plural "Daskylioi" would thus be the name, or one of the names, for the whole line or family. (4) From them, it was probably extended so as to include the entire party or followers of this family.

²⁷ *La Lydie*, 79.

²⁸ See below, p. 53.

the death of Daskylos I and cursed the murderers. Perhaps the plural *προπάτορες* is used because the speaker was referring not so much to a single king as to the royal house. Or it may be that, in addition to the invitation which we may think was extended by "Ardys" I to young Daskylos II, some of the ancestors of "Ardys" I had recalled from exile earlier members of this powerful family, the Daskylioi or Mermnadae, and that this was the reason why a Daskylos was at the court in the time of "Ardys" I. Perhaps the Mermnadae had once, at a much earlier period, been kings in Sardes or in Lydia, but had been driven out and subdued, and finally had become so amenable that their presence at the court was no longer felt to be dangerous but a source of advantage to the king.

6. Moxos (Mopsos) and Askalos.

a. Nicolaus (fr. 24) gives us some information concerning a certain *Moxos* (see the full text of the fragment, given above, p. 26). It is significant that he is not called a king. He was a brave and famous Lydian, renowned for his military exploits. The fragment states that he drove out the tyrant Meles. He captured and destroyed the town of *Krabos*, and threw the inhabitants into the lake near by, *οἷα ἀθέους*.

b. Xanthus,²⁹ from whom it is generally believed³⁰ that Nicolaus drew much of his material concerning Lydia, tells us that *Mopsos* the Lydian captured Atergatis and her son Ichthys, and threw them into the lake near *Askalon* on account of their *ὑβρις*; and that the fishes ate them. It is

²⁹ Xanthus fr. 11 (FHG. I. 38) is preserved by Athenaeus (VIII. 37; p. 346, d), who gets his information from Mnaseas, whom he quotes as follows: "Mnaseas, in the second book of his History of Asia, speaks thus: 'But I think that Atergatis was a very harsh queen (*βασιλισσα χαλεπή*) and that she ruled her people with great severity, so that she even forbade them by law to eat fish, and ordered them to bring this food to her, because she was fond of it. And on account of this, a custom still prevails when they pray to the Goddess, to offer her golden or silver fish; and for the priests every day to place on the table before the Goddess real fish, carefully cooked, both boiled and roasted, which the priests of the Goddess eat themselves.' And a little farther on he says again: 'But Atergatis, as Xanthus the Lydian says, was captured by Mopsos the Lydian, and was thrown by him, together with her son Ichthys, into the lake near Askalon, *διὰ τὴν ὑβριν*. And the fishes ate them.'"

³⁰ Christ, *Gr. Lit.-gesch.* (1908), p. 429.

strange to find prisoners of war, in two instances, thrown into the water in this way; and it looks as if these two accounts were but different versions of the same story, to be combined as relating to the same person. The names Moxos and Mopsos are regarded by Müller and Schubert³¹ as different forms of the same name, and this opinion seems to me correct.

c. Now in Xanthus³² fr. 23 it is stated that Akiamos, king of Lydia, had a general named Askalos, who was sent on a military expedition, during which he fell in love with a maiden and founded the town of *Askalon*. It looks as if this were the same story again;³³ and if so, the town "Askalon" was doubtless founded on the site of the conquered Krabos. This would explain why the town is called Krabos by Nicolaus in fr. 24; while fr. 11 of Xanthus, without mentioning the name of the conquered town, describes the lake into which the prisoners were thrown as being near Askalon. A more serious inconsistency between the two versions just mentioned is that in the one case, *a*, the people of the town are fed to the fishes, while in the other, *b*, this fate befalls two persons who bear the

³¹ Müller, FHG. III, 371, note on fr. 24; Schubert, *Gesch. d. Kön. v. Lyd.*, 4. See also Hachtmann, *De ratione inter Xanthi Lydiaca et Herodoti Lydiae historiam* (Halle, 1869), 14, and Seidenstuecker, *De Xantho Lydo rerum scriptore quaestiones selectae* (Kiel, 1895), 23, 24.

³² Xanthus fr. 23 = Nicolaus fr. 26: "Tantalos and Askalos were sons of Hymenaios. Askalos was appointed general by Akiamos, king of the Lydians, and went on a military expedition into Syria. There he fell in love with a maiden, and founded a town which he named after himself." Müller (FHG. III, 372, note on fr. 26) makes this comment: "Tantalus non est ille Niobes pater; nam hunc Xanthus (fr. 13) Assaonem appellavit." He might have added that the Tantalus of early legend, called by most ancient writers the father of Niobe, was said to have been the son of Zeus (Diod. IV. 74; Hygin. *Fab.* 124) or of Tmolus (Nicolaus fr. 17, FHG. III, 367).

³³ That there appears to be some kind of connection between this fragment concerning Akiamos, Askalos, and Askalon, and the fragment about Mopsos and Askalon, was suggested by Sévin, on p. 240 of his *Recherches sur les rois de Lydie*, a series of articles written during the years 1719-1724, and published in *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, vol. V (1729), *Mémoires*, pp. 231-272 (Müller's wrong reference in FHG. III, 371, note 24, should be corrected so as to read *Mém. de l'Acad.* V, p. 253, instead of X, p. 250). Müller (*op. cit.*, 372, note 26) accepts Sévin's suggestion; and it has been made also by Rawlinson, *Hist. of Herodotus* (1880), vol. I, 348, note 3, who perhaps based his view, like Müller, on that of Sévin.

names of the goddess Atergatis³⁴ (to whom fishes were sacred) and of her son Ichthys. Moreover in the quotation from Mnaseas, who gives us this version, *b* (see note 29), it may be seen that Atergatis the "queen" appears to be identical with the goddess; perhaps the word βασιλίσσα was used in this connection with something of the meaning of "Ba'alat" (for which see Eduard Meyer, *G. d. A.*, I², pp. 377, 378). But how could Atergatis be fed to her own fishes? The most natural explanation of the two versions, *a* and *b*, is that the people of the conquered town were worshippers of this goddess, and that some of them were thrown into the lake because the conquering general worshipped some other deity and punished them as ἀθέους (*a*) because they were without *his* gods. Similarly, then, the ὕβρις (*b*) of Atergatis was doubtless the very existence of her worship in that town, which the conqueror may have thought belonged by rights to his own deity. Apparently, then, he identified the conquered goddess with her people, and actually fed her and her subjects in grim irony to her own fishes, that is, threw her statue along with her unlucky worshippers into the lake.

But if these three accounts discussed above (Nicolaus fr. 24 concerning Moxos, Xanthus fr. 11 concerning Mopsos, and Xanthus fr. 23 concerning Askalos and King Akiamos) are in origin three versions of the same story, it follows that Askalos was the same person as Moxos (Mopsos).

7. "Ardys" and Akiamos.

In the time of King "Ardys" I there was a usurper named Meles, and this Meles was driven out by Moxos. Now if Moxos = Askalos, then Askalos was the leader who in the time of "Ardys" I drove out the tyrant. But Askalos was a general under King Akiamos. Perhaps, then, Akiamos is the same person as "Ardys" I. Further, there is reason to believe that the name "Ardys" did not properly belong to this king at all, and was inserted by a mistake into the line of the

³⁴ Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, 1.451; 14.460; 45.483; 47.484) describes the cult of a goddess often called by the Greeks Derketo (Atergatis), at Hierapolis (Bambyke) near Carchemish. The shrine was near a lake, in which were fishes sacred to the goddess. Similar cults existed elsewhere, e.g. at Askalon in Philistia (Diod. II. 4. 2. See Eduard Meyer in Roscher *Lex. d. Myth.*, s.v. Astarte, col. 653; Cumont in Pauly-Wiss., s.v. Dea Syria, col. 2237 ff.).

"Heracleidae". This view is supported by the following considerations:

a. *Ardys* is a name which seems to belong to the family of Gyges. We find it twice among the Mermnadae, *Ardys* son of Gyges I, and *Ardys* son of Gyges II; and quite possibly it was an ancestral name in the family. But except for the "*Ardys*" son of *Adyattes* I, the name does not appear at all in the family of the Heracleidae. Further, if the name really did belong to this member of the Herakleid family, it seems very strange that Gyges II should have given to his son³⁶ and successor the name borne by the father of the man who murdered *Daskylos* I.

b. The presence of the name "*Ardys*" in this isolated instance, in the family of *Adyattes* I, may easily be explained as follows:

(i). by the presence of an *Ardys* in the same generation in the other great family, the Mermnadae. (See the conspectus above, p. 38.)

(ii). by the fact that "*Ardys*" I had a long life. *Nicolaus* says he reigned 70 years.³⁷ And the Mermnad *Ardys* in this generation also had a long life, for he lived to adopt Gyges II, his grandnephew, as his son.

(iii). by the fact that a later *Ardys*, in the dynasty of the Mermnadae, was known as the father of a *Sadyattes* (or *Alyattes*). And "*Ardys*" I had a son *Adyattes* II.

8. Askalos and Daskylos I.

According to *Nicolaus* (fr. 49; see summary, p. 33) *Daskylos* I was a favorite of King "*Ardys*" I, son of *Adyattes* I, and had great influence in his time. King *Akiamos* also had a trusted subject, a general named *Askalos*, who founded *Askalon*. Reasons were given above (p. 48) for believing that this *Askalos* was the same person as *Moxos* (*Mopsos*), who conquered *Krabos* and fed the inhabitants to the fishes of *Atergatis*. And if it is true, as suggested in the preceding section, that *Akiamos* was the son of *Adyattes* I, the name "*Ardys*" being given to him in some accounts only by mistake, then it looks as if *Daskylos* the powerful favorite might be the trusted general called *Askalos* in some accounts, and so the same as *Moxos* (*Mopsos*). This view receives

³⁶ Herod. I. 16. See summary p. 36.

³⁷ See summary, p. 33.

some support from the statement of Nicolaus (l.c.) that "Ar-dys" I had a good army. It sounds improbable, perhaps, that one person should figure in these accounts, meagre as they are anyway, under four names. But just as Moxos and Mopsos are really forms of the same name, so Daskylos and Askalos may be the same name in origin; for apparently "Askalos" is a corruption of "Daskylos", not so much through any phonetic change³⁸ or confusion of script, as through the influence of the well known name Askalon. If so, then this person had but two names, one that from which the forms Moxos and Mopsos were derived, the other the original form of the names Daskylos and Askalos. He may have had a double name from the beginning, or one of his two names may have been a title or an epithet.

It is told by both Xanthus and Nicolaus that this Lydian general founded a city called "Askalon". Now, it is a far cry from Lydia to Askalon in Philistia. But no other Askalon is known. On the other hand, there were several towns named Daskylion³⁹ in western Asia Minor; and one⁴⁰ of these, it seems, was in Lydia on the shore of the Gygaean lake. Moreover, not far from this town was the cult of Artemis Koloëne.⁴¹ This goddess of the lake was, quite possibly, sometimes called Atergatis;⁴² and the fishes in the lake seem to have been sacred to her.⁴³ Does it not look as if the lake near Krabos⁴⁴

³⁸ It is possible that this also had some influence. See below, note 40.

³⁹ Ruge, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Daskyleion.

⁴⁰ The village *Iskele* (see map of Olfers and Spiegelthal, in Abh. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, 1858, plate facing p. 556) suggesting an ancient name *Daskylion*, like the ancient city *Δασκύλιον* on the Propontis, in the region of which are the modern *Eskil-kjöi*, *Eskil-limân* (doubtless from *'Ασκυλι ο or *'Ασκύλου λιμήν), and *Iskele* or *Iskelessi* (Kiepert, *Specialkarte v. West. Kl.-As.* No. 2; Texier, *Asie Mineure* II, 161). [Of course, it might be possible to derive a name like *Iskele* from the modern Greek *σκάλα*, Italian *scala*, meaning stairway, landing-place, sea-port. Cf. Texier, l. c.]

⁴¹ Strabo XIII. 626.

⁴² Two sepulchral inscriptions were found by Buresch (*Aus Lydien*, 117, 118) some distance to the northwest of the lake. One contains the expression *εἰ τις δὲ παραμάρτη τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τὸν θάνατόν μου, τὴν Ἀναεῖτιν τὴν ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος κεχολωμένην ἔξει*. The other is similar: *κεχολωμένον ἔξει τὸν θεόν* [... κ]αὶ Ἀταρκνᾶτε[ιν].

⁴³ Varro R.R. III. 17.4; Pliny N. H. II. 209; Forbiger, *Handb. d. Alt. Geog.* II, 177 note 75; E. Müller in his article *Gyges und der Gygäische see*, *Philologus* VII (1852), 243 and notes; C. Müller, FHG. III, 372, note on fr. 27.

or Askalon,⁴⁵ in which the inhabitants of the conquered town were fed by the general "Askalos" to the fishes sacred to the goddess Atergatis,⁴⁶ was this same Gygaean lake, and that the town was really named Daskylion not Askalon, though before it was conquered it may have been called Krabos? The true story seems to have been that Krabos was destroyed and that a new town was founded, perhaps on the old site, and named from the conqueror. But if the town name was "Daskylion", then the conqueror must have been "Daskylos". How then does the name of the town appear in the tradition as "Askalon" and the conqueror as "Askalos"? Doubtless Askalon was a famous name even to the historians of Xanthus' time and perhaps earlier. Daskylion may have been little known. What more natural than that some one assumed that the town, conquered, re-founded, and re-named by the great Lydian general of the olden time, was the famous town of which all knew vaguely, namely the great Askalon in Philistia, and changed the name from Daskylion, which was right, to Askalon, which was wrong, and so projected the story of the feeding of the prisoners to the fishes and all the other details upon the wrong city. This mistake would be still more natural because the story involved the goddess Atergatis, an important seat of whose worship was at Askalon in Syria.⁴⁷ And if some one in his account changed the town's name from Daskylion to Askalon, of course he had to change the conqueror's name from Daskylos to Askalos, else there would have been no point in at least a part of his story. If so, the general was named "Daskylos" and Moxos (Mopsos); and "Askalos" was not his name at all but only a mistake in the "tradition".⁴⁸ Moreover, if the con-

⁴⁵ See above, p. 26, Nicolaus fr. 24.

⁴⁶ Xanthus fr. 11; see above, p. 46, note 29.

⁴⁷ See above, p. 48.

⁴⁸ Diodorus II. 4. See Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Askalon.

⁴⁹ We have seen above (compare page 47, note 32) that the names Askalos and Tantalos are associated by Xanthus, as belonging to brothers. It is suggestive to note that among the Greek genealogists the names Daskylos and Tantalos are associated. Nymphis and Herodorus (ap. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 724, 752) mention a certain Daskylos, son of Tantalos. Lykos, the son of this Daskylos, was said to have entertained Herakles during the latter's expedition to get the girdle of Hippolyte.

quered town was falsely identified with the real Askalon, it is easy to understand why some one added to the account the additional item that the expedition on which the general was sent was into "Syria".⁴⁹

The identification of Daskylos I with the "Askalos" of the traditional accounts of the capture of Krabos, etc., that is, with Moxos (Mopsos), makes more comprehensible the feud between Adyattes II and this person. In speaking of Daskylos I, Nicolaus⁵⁰ uses the following words: Ἄρδῦϊ δὲ γηράσκοντι ἦδη προσφιλέστατος ἦν Δάσκυλος Γυγέω, γένος Μερμνάδης. Οὗτος ἄπασαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχε. On the face of it, such a passage might indicate nothing more than the influence exerted upon the affairs of Lydia by a royal favorite who possessed no more real power than, for example, Antinous. But if this Daskylos, a member of the powerful family of the Mermnadae, was not only a favorite of the king, but in himself a strong man; if he was the leader of at least one successful military expedition, had reduced Krabos and founded a city which he called by his own name; if he had driven out the usurper Meles and restored the old king to the throne, it is easy to understand that the crown prince, afterwards Adyattes II, regarded him as a dangerous rival and desired to be rid of him by foul means if not by fair. Such a rivalry, apparently to some extent inherited by the descendants of the principals, is plainly alluded to in the statements made⁵¹ to his followers by Gyges II, grandson of Daskylos I, when he was preparing for his revolution against Sadyattes (Kandaules), son⁵² of this Adyattes II (Myrsos) and last king of the Heracleidae.

9. In the light of the preceding discussion, and of that given in Chapter II, we may now summarize briefly what appears to have been the historical course of events regarding the political disturbances in the reign of King Akiamos ("Ardys" I). Toward the end of this king's reign, when he had become aged and infirm, three political parties began to struggle for ascendancy: (a). The party of the ruling house, headed by the

⁴⁹ See p. 47, note 32; Xanthus fr. 23.

⁵⁰ Fr. 49; FHG. III, 382, line 10.

⁵¹ Nicolaus fr. 49; FHG. III, 385, line 5. Gyges, in soliciting his friends' aid, reminds them of the murder of Daskylos I and of the curses pronounced by the aged "Ardys" I upon his murderers.

⁵² See above, p. 44 and note 24.

crown prince Adyattes II. (b). The party of the Mermnadae, led by Moxos = Daskylos I. (c). The party of Meles. This third party at first triumphed and Meles usurped the royal power, but was afterward driven out by Moxos = Daskylos I. This general then became a hero and the powerful favorite of the king. The crown prince in jealousy killed him; and the strong party of Moxos = Daskylos I, deprived of its leader, lost its hold. Meles at once took advantage of his opportunity, returned from Babylon and seized the throne again. Since the family of the Daskylioi were now alienated from the ruling house, Meles might naturally make overtures to them and try to secure their support for himself. Their refusal is easy to understand, and it doubtless constituted the negative reason, while active opposition on the part of the crown prince was the positive cause, of Meles' second and permanent expulsion.

10. "Sadyattes" the "regent", son of Kadys.

This person has a place in the narrative only if Meles went into voluntary exile; for if Meles went into exile without losing the kingship, some one must have held the throne⁵³ for him during his absence. But if the story of Meles' voluntary exile is rejected as unhistorical,⁵⁴ the whole story about a regent should be rejected too. Of course, Sadyattes the son of Kadys, though not a regent, may have been a real person, as well as Sadyattes the merchant from whom Croesus tried to borrow,⁵⁵ unless these names were employed by tradition-mongers merely to give definiteness to stories previously nameless.

11. Tylon.

In Nicolaus no information is given concerning Tylon beyond the mere mention that he was a remote⁵⁶ ancestor of Kadys, and of Lixos. But some exceedingly interesting material about him is to be found collected by Radet,⁵⁷ and better

⁵³ ἐπετρόπευσε. FHG. III, 383, line 5.

⁵⁴ See above pp. 29 ff.

⁵⁵ Nicolaus fr. 65; see summary, p. 35. Apparently, then, the name *Sadyattes* was not used exclusively by the kings of Lydia.

⁵⁶ Nicolaus fr. 49; FHG. III, 383, line 4: Μήλης δὲ φεύγων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίστευσε Σαδυνάττῃ τῷ Κάδνῳ, γένος ὄντι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Τύλωνος. Also p. 384, line 12: καὶ Αἴξος τοῦ Τυλωνίου γένους.

⁵⁷ *La Lydie*, 83, 84, and notes.

still by Head.⁵⁸ Briefly it is as follows: "Pliny (*N.H.* XXV. 14), on the authority of Xanthus, relates that, after having been killed by the bite of a serpent, Tylon⁵⁹ was restored to life by the virtue of an herb called Balis. In the story of the resuscitation of Tylos⁶⁰ as told by Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* XXV. 451-551), the healing plant is called *Διὸς ἄνθος*, and is given him by his sister Morie. According to Nonnus, the serpent, after having bitten Tylos, was slain by a giant warrior named Damasen, a son of Gê. Nonnus next tells how a female serpent, the wife of the slaughtered monster, coming to the rescue of her mate, brought him *in her mouth* a spray of the magic plant and half restored to life her dead companion. Meanwhile the girl Morie, the sister of the dead Tylos, witnessing this marvel, did likewise, and thus restored Tylos to life." There are also three coins⁶¹ of Sardes to be noticed: (1) Time of Severus Alexander. Two male figures face to face, each holding on one arm a bent and knotted club. One presents to the other a branch of some plant. On the ground between them is a dead serpent. In the field are the names of the two heroes, "Masnes" and "Tylos". These names are equally near both figures, but presumably it is Masnes who presents the herb to Tylos. (2) Time of Gordian III. Male figure wielding club against large serpent coiled and erect before him, holding *in its mouth* a branch of some plant. Across the field "Masanes". (3) A coin of Otacilia (Mion. IV, p. 138, No. 789). Male figure in a car drawn by two winged serpents. His name, "Tylos", is written across the field. Beneath the car lies another figure, accompanied by the name "Gê". And Tylos was "son of the earth" according to Dionys. Halic. I. 27.

Evidently then Tylon or Tylos was a god or hero who, at least in the Roman period, was regarded as a national figure in Lydian history. At one time, presumably in his youth, he was killed (though soon restored to life) by a serpent. Now, a Greek hero, the most famous of them all, was all but destroyed in infancy by serpents, namely Herakles; and the coin of Severus Alexander, representing Tylon with a knotted club, suggests that Tylon and Herakles were identified. But if

⁵⁸ *Cat. Coins Brit. Mus., Lydia*, pp. cxi ff.

⁵⁹ Pliny uses this form of the name.

⁶⁰ Nonnus uses this form.

⁶¹ Head, l.c.

Tylon or Tylos, the reputed ancestor of a Kadys, and of a "Sadyattes" (i.e. the supposititious regent for Meles), and of Lixos, was identified⁶² with Herakles the reputed ancestor of the royal family of the "Heracleidae", then this Kadys may well have been in fact the Herakleid twin-king Kadys; and it follows that Lixos, a member of the same family, was a prince of the blood.⁶³ It looks therefore as if "Heracleidae" was but the Greek name for the royal family who, in the native tradition, traced their origin to the mythical Tylon.

This identification of the ancestor of the royal line with the Greek Herakles was of the utmost importance to the Greek chronologists, for it enabled them (by filling up the gaps in the family genealogy, and assigning to each generation an arbitrary number of years, according to the methods of the Greek chronologists) to assign definite dates to the events of Lydian history. Moreover, the fact that in all our accounts, including that of Xanthus (Nicolaus), the royal family before Gyges appears always under the name "Heracleidae", whereas the "Tylonii" appear as a separate family, although there is nothing in the tradition itself which prevents their complete identification, shows how strong the Greek influence was with all, even Xanthus himself, who gave form and permanence to this tradition. The name "Heracleidae" is Greek, and so cannot have been the original and historical name of a Lydian family.

Radet (*La Lydie*, 84), because of the Thracian district

⁶² Masnes also appears to be a Lydian deity or hero; and it would seem that he, since he killed the serpent, should correspond to the Greek Herakles. Perhaps he was so identified; but no great Lydian family is known to have traced its descent from Masnes, as one evidently did from Tylon. Masnes, therefore, did not suit the needs of the Greek chronologists (see just below).

⁶³ It is possible that Lixos was a grandson of Kadys, since he comes in the second generation after Kadys (i.e., in that of Kandaules and Gyges II. See genealogical conspectus on p. 58; also p. 38). The quarrel between Lixos and Gyges II occupies an important place in Nicolaus' account (fr. 49) of the founder of the Mermnad dynasty. Regarding Lixos as a prince of the blood, it is easy to understand his enmity toward Gyges, a member of the great rival family of the Mermnadae. And when Kandaules (Sadyattes) was killed, Lixos may well have thought that he had a claim to the throne.

"Tyliš" mentioned by Steph. Byz. (s.v.), regards Tylon as in all probability imported by the Indogermanic migrations into Asia Minor (ca. 1200 B.C.⁶⁴ and earlier), that is, among others, by the "Maionians".⁶⁵ This is quite possible. And, as Head says (*op. cit.*, p. cxiii), "the Tylos myth, as symbolizing the return of spring after winter, by resurrection after death, no doubt formed part of the sacred mysteries of the cult of Demeter and Kore celebrated at Sardes." But this same symbolism belongs to the primitive Anatolian⁶⁶ deity Attes, worshipped in Sardes and throughout a large part of Asia Minor, with ritual observances commemorating his death and resurrection.⁶⁷ Perhaps, then, the Indogermanic Tylon simply took the older, native deity's place with the new dynasty, probably assimilating part of his attributes, and becoming to some extent, though never entirely, identified with him. If this is right, then there seems to be a germ of truth in Herodotus' tradition about the "Herakleid" dynasty, and "the rulers descended from Atys" who preceded the "Heracleidae".

And there is even some excuse for the Greek logographers who seem to refer both Mermnadae and Heracleidae to Herakles as an ancestor. That the Heracleidae were so traced is obvious. But Apollodorus (*Bibl.* II. 7.8) mentions, as a son of Herakles and Omphale, Ἀγέλαος, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Κροίσου γένος. Perhaps the Mermnadae (who were, as far back as our records go⁶⁸ and therefore probably much earlier still, the powerful rivals of the Heracleidae) were of the old Anatolian stock.⁶⁹ If so, it would be natural for them, like the earlier Anatolian rulers of Lydia, to trace their descent from Attes.⁷⁰ And if a Lydian god could be identified by some of the Greeks with Herakles, while others called him Tylon, and still

⁶⁴ Eduard Meyer, *G. d. A.*, I², p. 613.

⁶⁵ See Kretschmer, *Einkl. in die Gesch. der Gr. Sprache*, 385. See also summary p. 36 above.

⁶⁶ Farnell, *Greece and Babylon* (1911), 254, 255.

⁶⁷ Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Attis, col. 2249.

⁶⁸ See summary, p. 33; see also p. 46, and note 17 on p. 23.

⁶⁹ It is my opinion that they were not only of Anatolian stock, but also perhaps akin to the Hittites; and I hope at some time in the future to publish my reasons for this view.

⁷⁰ Herodotus (I. 34) gives the name *Atys* to a son of Croesus. See summary, p. 36.

others spoke of Attes, it is easy to see one source of confusion in the compilations of genealogists.

III. Reverting once more to the summaries of our traditional accounts and the conspectus of them given at the beginning of this chapter, and applying the results of the discussion contained in the foregoing pages, a new "genealogical" list of Lydian kings may now be constructed. (For the following list, compare the accompanying diagram.)

1. TYLON, the mythological eponymous ancestor is naturally to be placed at the top of the diagram. Somewhere between him and the list of kings may perhaps be placed ALKIMOS, said⁷¹ to have been an early king of Lydia, the most prosperous and best beloved of all. The only other royal name mentioned in the accounts of Herodotus, Nicolaus (Xanthus), and the chronographers, preceding the nine kings given in the list below, is AGRON, said by Herodotus to have been the first Herakleid king of Lydia. All these three names of course belong to the mythological literature.

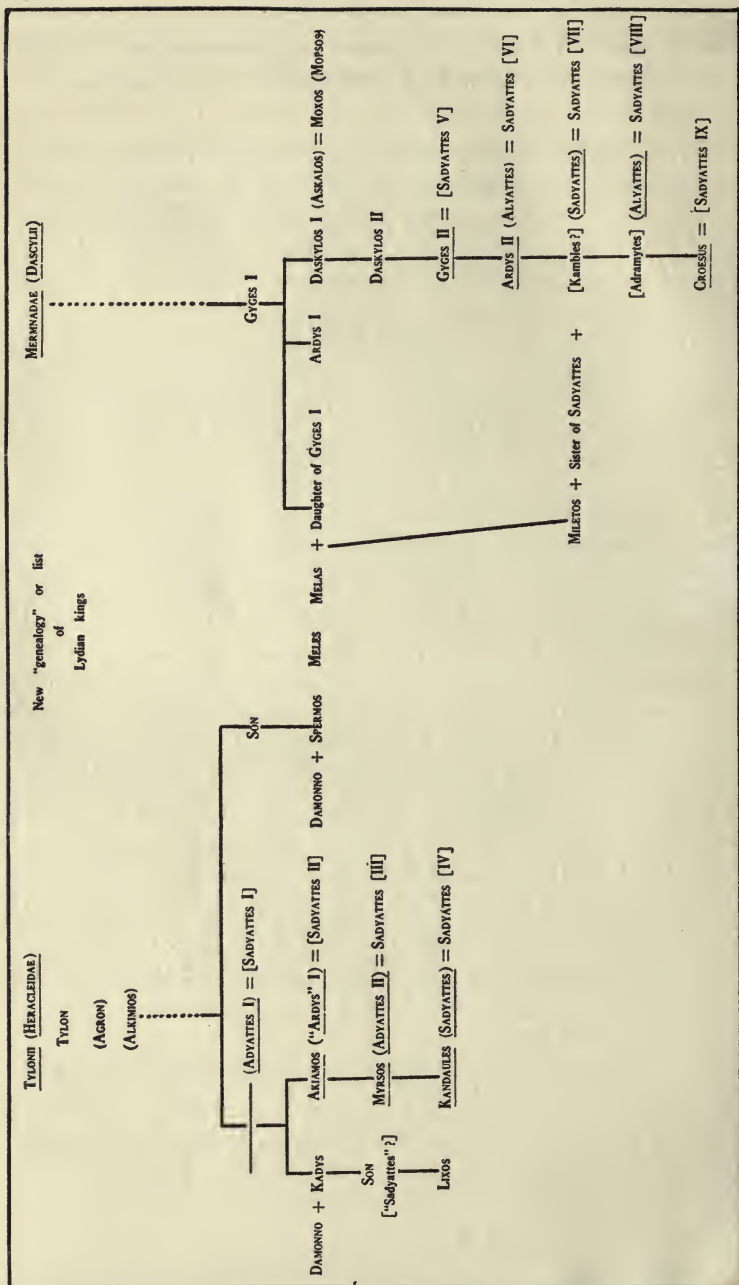
The first name in the new list of kings is ADYATTES I (see Nicolaus fr. 49). KADYS and AKIAMOS ("Ardys" I) are his two sons; and DASKYLOS I (ASKALOS) = MOXOS (MOPPOS) may be placed in the corresponding generation of the Mermnadae, as a son of Gyges I. SPERMOS was a cousin of Kadys and "Ardys" I, so he was probably the son of a brother of Adyattes I. MYRSOS is here taken to be the son of Akiamos ("Ardys" I), and identical with ADYATTES II, the murderer of Daskylos I. Lastly, KANDAULES (SADYATTES) is here considered to be the son of Myrsos; while "Sadyattes", the supposititious regent, and LIXOS, are respectively son and grandson of Kadys.

The Mermnad line presents no difficulties. The aged, childless ARDYS I, uncle of Daskylos II, is a son of GYGES I. Then in order come DASKYLOS I and II, GYGES II, ARDYS II (ALYATTES), [Kambles⁷²] (SADYATTES), [Adramytes⁷³] (ALY-

⁷¹ Nicolaus fr. 49, FHG. III, 382; Xanthus fr. 10.

⁷² See above, pp. 40 ff.

⁷³ See above, pp. 42 ff.



ATTES), and CROESUS. The sister of Sadyattes, married by him, was previously wife of MILETOS. This man was "a descendant of MELAS, son-in-law of Gyges". This passage⁷⁴ doubtless refers to Gyges I; for if Gyges II had been meant, Miletos would have been called the son, not the descendant (ἀπόγονος), of Melas. Melas is then to be placed in the same generation with MELES; and though the names Μέλας⁷⁵ and Μήλας are somewhat different, it is possible that the two persons may be the same. If so, it was very natural for the usurping tyrant to try to strengthen his position, perhaps before his tyranny or in preparation for it, by a marriage alliance with the powerful family of the Mermnadae.

In this "genealogy" or list there are thus two ruling dynasties, with four kings in the first (not including usurpers), and five in the second.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Nicolaus fr. 63. See summary, p. 35.

⁷⁵ The name Μέλας (gen. Μέλαν - os : Nic. fr. 63, FHG. III, 396) appears to be Greek, but it may have been a native name so written by the Greeks in order to give it a Greek meaning, perhaps another instance of the liberties freely taken by the Greeks with native non-Greek names (cf. Fick, *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* [1909], 1). The name Μέλας (Μέλαν - os) is applied to various rivers in Asia Minor: a river between Pamphylia and Cilicia (Strabo XIV. 667; Pausan. VIII. 28.3), a river in Cappadocia (Strabo XII. 538), and a river in Pontus (Pliny *N.H.* VI. 11). The same root may perhaps be found in Μέλης (Μέλητ - os) the name of a river in Ionia, near Smyrna (Strabo XII. 554; XIV. 646). And though Choiroboskos (Schol. ad Theodos. Canon., in *Grammatici Graeci* part IV, vol. I, p. 160 [ed. A. Hiller, 1894, Teub.]) distinguishes the river Μέλης from the river Μήλας (Μήλητ - os), near Colophon, which was so near Smyrna, yet he implies that other grammarians considered the streams identical, and admits that they regarded one name as a variant form of the other.

⁷⁶ There are no records anywhere of more than five kings in this dynasty. We may date the end of the reign of Gyges II about 652 B.C., and the fall of Sardes and of Croesus, at the hands of Cyrus, in 546 B.C. (Lehmann-Haupt in *Pauly-Wiss.* s.v. Gyges [1912], col. 1961, 1964). For such a period of about 106 years, two kings are out of the question; three are possible, but improbable, for the reigns are too long. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that four is the correct number of Gyges' successors.

2. One objection to this new list of kings remains to be considered. In the chronographers' lists⁷⁷ Meles is placed after Alyattes (Adyattes II) = Myrsos,⁷⁸ and just before Kandaules. In the reconstructed list Meles, if mentioned at all, ought to come just after or in the time of Akiamos (Ardys" I), whose throne he usurped. But if it be true that Meles was a usurper, that he was a contemporary of Alyattes (Adyattes II) = Myrsos,⁷⁸ and that he seized the kingdom twice before he was finally expelled,⁷⁹ a confusion in the accounts preserved by the chronographers is easy to understand.

3. This new list of nine Lydian kings attempts only to give the names of the kings and their correct order of succession. It is offered tentatively, as something more satisfactory than other lists thus far proposed. It may well be that it gives us historical truth, and that parts of it were ultimately derived from some kind of early written records, even if these were no more than inscriptions on royal tombs.

We can also see that the secret of the confusion in our traditional accounts, in their present untrustworthy form, is this: Xanthus or some preceding writer doubtless had before him at least two different earlier sources or groups of sources. One of these was substantially correct and corresponded, as we may believe, to our new "genealogy", but was confused, and used the proper names and the common name or title (Sadyattes, Adyattes, Alyattes) indiscriminately for certain kings. The other source, or group of sources, wrongly used the name "Ardys" instead of Akiamos, and regarded Moxos, Askalos, and Daskylos, as different persons.

It is also clear that the key to the solution here offered is contained in the identification of Meles II (Nicolaus fr. 24) and Meles III (Nicolaus fr. 49), which was made possible by a re-examination of the order and the assignment into 'books' of the fragments from Nicolaus contained in

⁷⁷ See summary, and conspectus, pp. 37, 38.

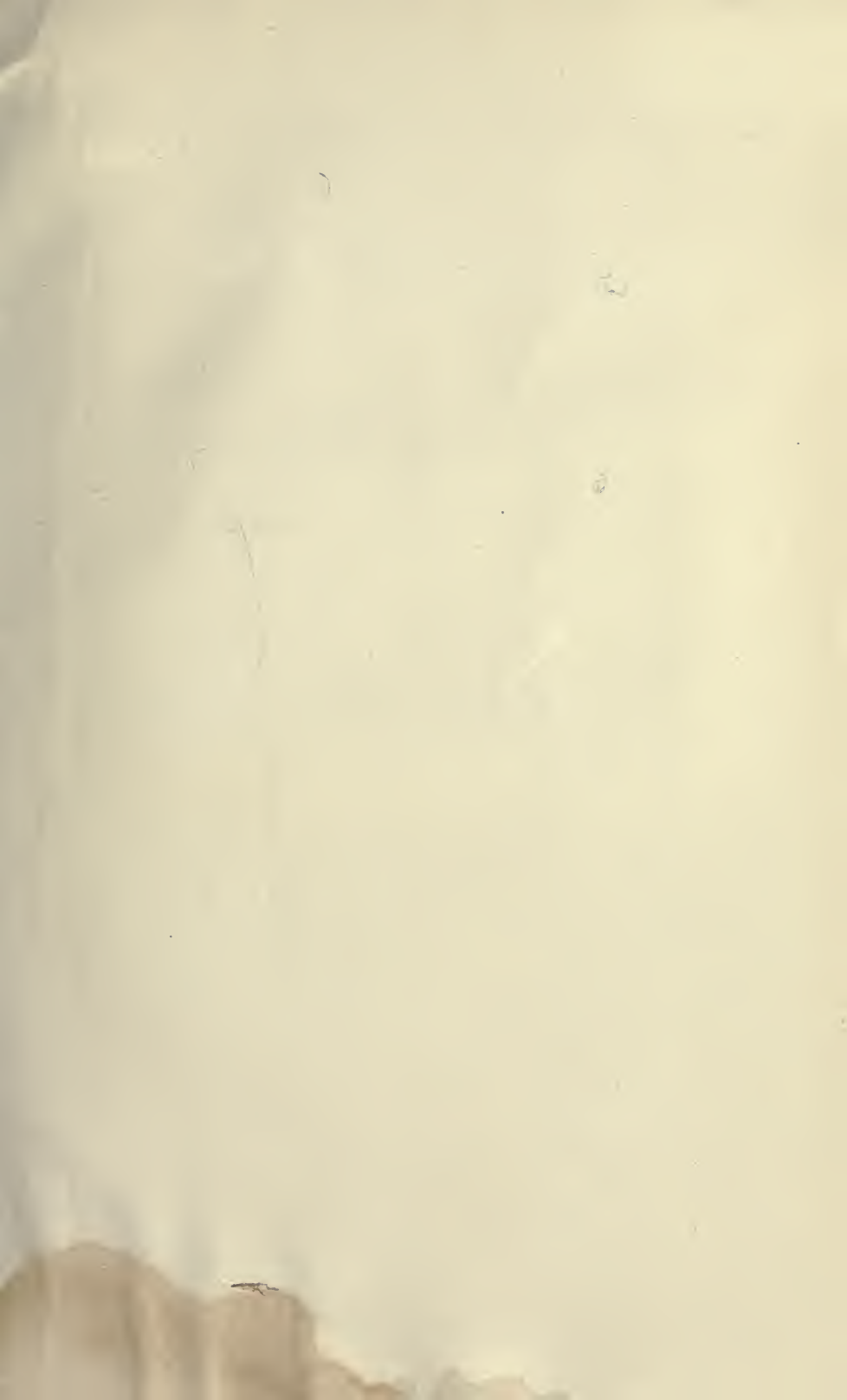
⁷⁸ See above, pp. 39, 44.

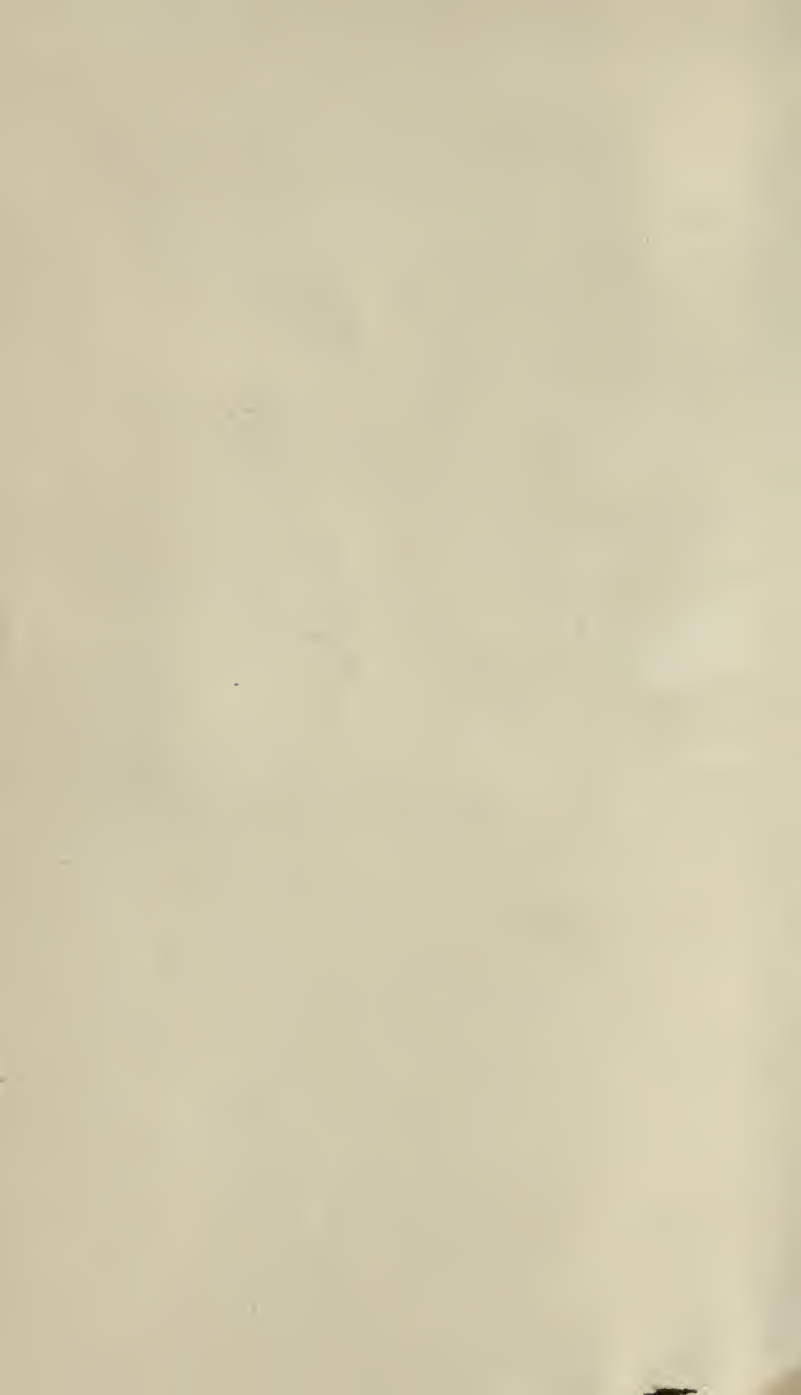
⁷⁹ See pp. 29, 30.

the two series of Excerpta, the De Virtutibus and the De Insidiis. For, if this identification is correct, the two fragments concerning Meles may be, and properly should be, combined. It is thus made possible to deal with only one account of this person, a usurper in the time of "Ardys" I and mentioned by Nicolaus in the course of the passage from which fr. 49 was taken. The way is then clear for considering the relations between the persons mentioned at the end of the preceding paragraph, and for discussing the other matters which have been taken up in this chapter.



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